

# A STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF BUNYAN'S ALLEGORIES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

DEGUILEVILLE'S PILGRIMAGE OF MAN

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE  
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1904

BY

JAMES BLANTON WHAREY

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BALTIMORE

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## PREFACE.

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The quotations from Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man* cited in Chapter II are from a copy of ms. Ff. 6. 30 made by Mr. Alfred Rogers of the University Library, Cambridge. The pages refer to the pages of the original ms.

I take this opportunity to correct an error overlooked in the proof-reading: "the yere of our Lord MCCC and thyrtten" (p. 12) should read "the yere of our Lord MCCCC and thyrtten."



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## INTRODUCTION.

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The question of Bunyan's indebtedness to his predecessors in the field of allegory is not new. In his own time he was accused of having stolen his allegory, as we know from the vigorous denial of such charges which, under the title of "An Advertisement to the Reader," he appended to the *Holy War*. Though Bunyan here declared that 'matter and manner too was all his own,' the suggestions of possible prototypes have gone on multiplying, until now the list of books and poems cited has grown to considerable length.

It would be interesting to know what specific charges of plagiarism Bunyan's contemporaries brought against him, but no evidence beyond the denial of Bunyan himself is at hand. The first specific suggestion which has come under my notice is the observation of Dr. Samuel Johnson, recorded by Boswell under date of April 30, 1773, that Bunyan may have read Spenser, and that the *Pilgrim's Progress* begins very much like the poem of Dante. A few years later, 1776, the Rev. Augustus M. Toplady, in the September number of the *Gospel Magazine* for that year, mentions Richard Bernard's *Isle of Man* as the book which "in all probability suggested to Mr. John Bunyan the first idea of his 'Pilgrim's Progress' and of his 'Holy War.' " Mention is also made of Dr. Simon Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, but no importance is attached to it as a possible source of Bunyan's allegory. Dibdin, however, in his account of Deguileville's *Pylgremage of the Sowle*, published by Caxton, expressed the opinion that this book "rather than Bernard's 'Isle of Man' laid the foundation of John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress.' " <sup>1</sup>

So far nothing more than bare suggestions had been made. In 1828 James Montgomery, in an essay prefixed to an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, discussed briefly its probable connection

<sup>1</sup> *Typograph. Antiq.*, I, 153.

with Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*, Bernard's *Isle of Man*, Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, Whitney's *Book of Emblems*, Dent's *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*. He pointed out a few parallelisms between each of these books and the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Robert Southey became interested in this aspect of Bunyan-study, and in his *Life of Bunyan*, written in 1830, devoted several pages to the probable influence upon Bunyan of *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight*, the *Isle of Man*, and Bolswert's *Dufykens ende Willemynkens Pelgrimage*. He regarded the first and last of these allegories as of little or no importance, but was of the opinion that the *Isle of Man* had "had a considerable effect upon the style of Bunyan's invention."

Robert Philip<sup>1</sup> was the next to discuss the question of Bunyan's sources. He attempted to give a short account of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man* and *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, but confounded the two. To the books already mentioned he added the following: William Bond's *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*, 1526; Leonard Wright's *The Pilgrimage to Paradise*, 1591; William Webster's *The Pilgrim's Journey Towards Heaven*, 1613; Robert Bruen's *The Pilgrim's Practice*, 1621; Thomas Taylor's *The Pearl of the Gospel and the Pilgrim's Profession*, 1624; *The Pilgrim's Passe to the New Jerusalem*, "M. R. Gent.," 1659. To this list Wilson<sup>2</sup> added: Cavice's *Libro del Peregrino*, published at Venice in the early part of the 16th century; Gawin Douglas's *Palace of Honour*; George Herbert's *The Pilgrimage*.

As yet, with the possible exception of Montgomery and Southey, no one had made a serious attempt to investigate the value of any of these suggestions. The first to do so was George Offor, the indefatigable editor and ardent admirer of John Bunyan. In the third volume of his edition of Bunyan's works published in 1853, Offor sought to answer the question "Was Bunyan assisted in the Composition of his Pilgrim?" "Every assertion or suggestion

<sup>1</sup> Robert Philip, *The Life, Times, and Characteristics of John Bunyan*, London, 1839, pp. 557-565.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Wilson, *The Pilgrim's Progress with a life of Bunyan*, London, Edinburgh, Dublin, 1852.

of this kind," he declares, "that came to my knowledge has been investigated, and the works referred to have been analyzed. And beyond this, every allegorical work that could be found previous to the eighteenth century has been examined in all the European languages; and the result is a perfect demonstration of the complete originality of Bunyan."<sup>1</sup> No fewer than fifty books are mentioned by Offor, and abstracts given of all that were accessible. In the edition of 1867 the number is increased to seventy-four. While Offor's work is invaluable as a basis for further investigation, it is marred by the author's prejudice. Any suggestion of a possible source for the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Offor regarded as equivalent to a charge of plagiarism. Then the outlines which he gives are too meagre. This is especially true of the allegory most frequently cited in connection with Bunyan's sources—Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*.

In 1858 a writer, who signs himself "L. A. H.," contributed to the *Methodist Quarterly Review*<sup>2</sup> an article entitled: "The Poet and the Dreamer. 1. The Faerie Queen by Edmund Spenser, 2. The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan." After comparing the *Pilgrim's Progress* with the first book of the *Faerie Queene*, the writer reaches the following conclusion: "To us it appears as evident that Bunyan had read, at least the first book of the Faerie Queen, as that Chaucer had read Boccaccio, or Milton Dante. We cannot but think that it in some degree molded his narrative and colored his descriptions, for there are parallelisms that hardly would have occurred otherwise, although there is no borrowing and no imitation."

The same year, 1858, there appeared the most important contribution yet made to the subject of Bunyan's sources: *The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville entitled Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme compared with the Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan*. Edited from notes collected by the late Mr. Nathaniel Hill, London, B. M. Pickering, 1858. Hill used as a basis for this comparison the French text of Deguileville published by Barthole et Petit

<sup>1</sup> George Offor, *The Works of John Bunyan*, 3 vols., London, 1853, 2d ed., 1867, III, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, New York, April, 1858, pp. 209-227.



about 1500, and the English verse translation of John Lydgate made in 1426.<sup>1</sup> He believed that Bunyan was greatly indebted to Deguileville and he tried to prove it by showing that there were many parallelisms between the two allegories. Unfortunately he did not live to complete his work, which was published posthumously with Miss Katherine Isabella Cust as its editor. Many of the parallelisms which Hill cites will not bear close scrutiny. The whole book, which at best is but a mass of ill-digested matter, has been aptly described as a hodge-podge of odd bits of learning.<sup>2</sup>

In October, 1896, Richard Heath published an article in the *Contemporary Review* entitled "The Archetype of the Pilgrim's Progress," and in the July number of the following year another entitled "The Archetype of the Holy War." In these two very interesting essays an entirely new suggestion was made in regard to Bunyan's sources. The author sought to prove that Bunyan drew his inspiration, not from the works of his predecessors, but from his knowledge of the struggles and persecutions of the Anabaptists. In support of this view many striking parallelisms between the two allegories and the history of the Anabaptists were adduced.

The latest study of this question, which contributes however little of real value, is the dissertation of Otto Kötz,—*Faerie Queene und Pilgrim's Progress. Ein beitrage zur quellenfrage Bunyans*, Halle, 1899.<sup>3</sup> His conclusion is: "Nie kann man von direkter nachahmung oder auch nur von einfacher anlehnung reden, vielmehr hat man stets den eindruck das Bunyan die Feeenkönigin einmal gelesen hat, und dann in seinem Pilgrim's Progress ganz unbewusst erinnerungen an 'die Faerie Queene einfließen lässt." In his opening chapter (p. 14), Kötz gives a résumé of Hill's work, and then declares: "Es kann nach diesen ausführungen Hills keinem zweifel mehr unterliegen, dass Bunyan irgend eine englische übersetzung Guilevilles gekannt hat, und dass

<sup>1</sup> Lydgate's verse translation then existed in ms. only. Cotton, Vitellius C. XIII and Cotton, Tiberius A. VII were the mss. used by Hill.

<sup>2</sup> *Catholic World*, 1868, vi, 539. A review of Hill's book appeared in *The Athenæum*, London, 1858, Part 2, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Also published in *Anglia*, xxii, 33-80.

sein Pilgrim's Progress von der altfranzösischen dichtung beeinflusst worden ist. Wir dürfen uns ihm völlig anschliessen. Wenn wir auch nicht soweit zu gehen brauchen, wie ten Brink, auch die anregung zur ganzen idee von Pilgrim's Progress aus Guileville abzuleiten—sie könnte ja, wie wir gesehen, auch anderwärts herkommen—, so ist doch sicher, dass die zahlreichen eigenheiten, die an Guileville erinnern, unmöglich auf zufall beruhen können." This opinion, so positively asserted, is based solely upon the evidence advanced by Hill.

In marked contrast to the opinion of Kötze is that of Dr. Furnivall, which deserves consideration, coming, not from a special investigator of Bunyan's sources, it is true, but from one thoroughly familiar with Deguileville's *Pilgrimage* or at least with Lydgate's verse translation of it. In his characteristic "Forewords" to Part I of Lydgate's poem, Dr. Furnivall conjectures: "I suppose our members will read enough of it to settle, each in his own mind, whether this *Pilgrimage* had anything to do with the *Pilgrim's Progress*. I don't think it had; for Deguileville's main object was to expound and enforce the chief articles of Romanist doctrine by any arguments, however absurd."<sup>1</sup>

Evidently the question of Bunyan's indebtedness to Deguileville has never been satisfactorily investigated. For many years it has been known that during the seventeenth century a modernised version of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man* circulated in ms. form. In 1869, Wm. Aldis Wright, who edited an English prose version (of the fifteenth century) for the Roxburghe Club, expressed the opinion that if Bunyan were familiar with Deguileville's allegory, it must have been through the modernised version.<sup>2</sup> Some twenty years ago the E. E. T. S. had a copy made of this version, but unfortunately this was burned before the Society could publish it. Although Wright's suggestion has been often repeated, no comparison has yet been made between this seventeenth century version and the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

<sup>1</sup> F. J. Furnivall, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, LXXXVII, London, 1899, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. Aldis Wright, *The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode from the French of Guillaume De Deguileville*. Printed for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1869, Preface, p. x.

In the present study I have attempted (1) to compare in detail this modernised version of Deguileville's allegory with the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and to determine whether or not Bunyan was familiar with it; (2) to treat in the same way the other books which, next to Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*, have been oftenest mentioned among Bunyan's possible sources,—Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*, Bernard's *Isle of Man*, Bolswert's *Dufykens ende Willemynkens Pelgrimage*, Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*; (3) to see what suggestions might have come to Bunyan from other works the titles or the subject-matter of which would lead us to connect them with allegorical pilgrimages.

Before such a study is begun, a few facts concerning Bunyan, which have more or less bearing upon the problem, should be noted.

Bunyan was born in 1628. Of his parentage little is known. He himself says in *Grace Abounding* "my descent was of a low and inconsiderable generation; my father's house being of that rank that is meanest and most despised of all the families in the land."<sup>1</sup> The language employed by Bunyan in speaking of himself must not, however, be interpreted too literally. Dr. Brown, whose *Life of Bunyan* is the best that has yet been written, has brought together sufficient evidence to show that Bunyan's parents, though poor, were in all probability thoroughly respectable.<sup>2</sup> This opinion is supported by the fact that Bunyan's parents were ambitious for their son to receive an education. "It pleased God to put it into their hearts," says Bunyan, "to put me to school to learn both to read and write; the which I also attained, according to the rate of other poor men's children; though, to my shame I confess, I did soon lose that little I learned, and that even almost utterly."<sup>1</sup> There is no good reason for supposing that he ever attended the Bedford Grammar School. His school-days must have been few and the knowledge acquired the most rudimentary; that he knew no language save his own may be confidently assumed.

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, I, 6.

<sup>2</sup> John Brown, *John Bunyan*, London, 1885, pp. 33 ff.

In his sixteenth year Bunyan enlisted in the Parliamentary army. His few months of military service no doubt proved a valuable experience when he came to describe the siege of Mansoul, the battles between the forces of Immanuel and the forces of Diabolus, the exploits of Capt. Greatheart. A few years later Bunyan married, though he and the woman he chose for a wife were "as poor as poor might be, not having so much as a dish or spoon." His wife brought as her dowry two books which Bunyan and she frequently read together: *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* by Arthur Dent, and *The Practice of Piety* by Lewis Bayly.

The next four years were a time of intense spiritual conflict. His doubts and fears, his despair, his anguish of body and of soul, and finally the peace of sins forgiven—all these he describes with terrible earnestness in *Grace Abounding*. He was received into the Baptist Church at Bedford in 1653, during the pastorate of the Rev. John Gifford,—the prototype, it is thought, of Evangelist. Two years later Bunyan began preaching in the country adjoining Bedford, and met with immediate success.

His imprisonment began in 1660, and with the exception of a few weeks continued for twelve years. A third imprisonment lasting about six months, Dr. Brown by a clever conjecture assigned to the winter and early spring of 1675-76. This conjecture has been recently verified by the discovery of the original warrant for Bunyan's third arrest.<sup>1</sup> Since the finding of this warrant there can scarcely be any doubt that Dr. Brown is right in supposing that Bunyan was confined in the county jail during the first two imprisonments and in the town jail during the third, and that during this last imprisonment he wrote, or at least began, the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

This discovery of a third imprisonment in 1675-6 as the time in which the *Pilgrim's Progress* was written, nullifies whatever force there is in the argument, so often urged by Bunyan's admirers, that being in jail he could not possibly have had access

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Thorpe: "How I found the Bunyan Warrant," *Gentleman's Magazine*, CCLXVIII (Feb., 1890), 192-200.

to the writings of other men; for, during the interval of three years between 1672 and 1675, Bunyan was at liberty and might then have fallen in with some book containing the idea of an allegorical pilgrimage. It also removes the necessity of explaining why the *Pilgrim's Progress* was not published sooner,—an explanation involving a real difficulty if we suppose the allegory to have been written during the twelve years' imprisonment.

The first edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* appeared in 1678, having been entered in the Stationers' Register Dec. 22, 1677, and licensed Feb. 18, 1678. The second edition containing several important additions was published the same year; the third, with still further additions, in 1679. Seven years after the publication of the First Part, the Second Part appeared. In the meantime Bunyan published in 1682 his second great allegory, the *Holy War*. He died August 31, 1688.



## I.

# GUILLAUME DE DEGUILEVILLE.

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### 1. LIFE AND WORKS.

Of Guillaume de Deguileville little is known. He was the son of Thomas of Guileville, and was born in Paris about 1295. He became a monk in the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, and before his death probably its prior. In 1330-'1, at the age of thirty-six, he wrote his first *Pilgrimage*. He died at the abbey some time after 1358.<sup>1</sup>

Deguileville was the author of: "*Le romant des trois pèlerinaiges; le premier est de l'homme durant qu'est en vie,*<sup>2</sup> *le second de l'âme séparée du corps, et le troisième de N. S. Jésus-Christ.*"<sup>3</sup> These three *Pilgrimages*, forming a great trilogy of over 36,000 lines, have been recently edited for the Roxburghe Club by Professor J. J. Stürzinger.<sup>4</sup>

The first *Pilgrimage* was composed, according to Deguileville's own testimony, in 1330-'1. Until recently it has been always thought that the second *Pilgrimage* was written immediately after the first.<sup>5</sup> Prof. Stürzinger gives the following excellent reasons

<sup>1</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, New Edition, xviii, 190; Abbé Goujet, *Bibliothèque française*, ix, 71-74; Wm. Aldis Wright, *The Pilgrimage of the Lay of the Manhode*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1869, Preface, p. iii; DeVisch, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum S. ordinis Cisterciensis*, 1649, p. 122; *Manuscripts du Fonds Français*, i, 61, No. 602; J. E. Hultman, *Guillaume de Deguileville En Studie i Fransk Litteraturhistoria*, Upsala, 1902; Gustav Gröber, *Grundriss der Rom. Phil.*, ii, 749-754.

<sup>2</sup> The first *Pilgrimage* is sometimes entitled *Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme*, sometimes *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, xviii, 190. In *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, Deguileville alludes to certain poems of his written in Latin. These are printed by Prof. Stürzinger in the Appendix to his edition of *Ame*.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine de Guillaume de Deguileville*, Nichols & Sons, London, 1893; *Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, 1895; *Le Pèlerinage Jhesucrist*, 1898.

<sup>5</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, ii, 558-'9; Blades' *Caxton*, ii, 163; Gaston Paris, *La Litt. Franç. au Moyen Age*, p. 228, § 156.

for supposing that the second *Pilgrimage* was written after 1355, the date of the second recension of the first *Pilgrimage*: "Lines 3007-'12<sup>1</sup> of the following text of *Ame* refer to a passage which occurs only in the second recension of the first *Pilgrimage*. Lines 9376-'7,<sup>2</sup> 1721-'2<sup>3</sup> and 11070-'1<sup>4</sup> speak of the poet's old age of over sixty years. The *Pilgrimage of the Soul* was therefore composed after the second recension of the first *Pilgrimage* and after 1355, this second recension being written in 1355 and the poet being born in 1294 or 1295. That it was completed before 1358 will be seen from the third *Pilgrimage*."<sup>5</sup>

## 2. FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

The three *Pilgrimages* seem to have been composed respectively in 1330-'1, in 1355, and in 1358.<sup>6</sup> That they became exceedingly popular is proved by the numerous manuscripts of the French texts and by the several translations into Spanish, Dutch, and English. Prof. Stürzinger has made a list of the various MSS. of the French texts still extant in France, England, Belgium, Germany, Russia, and Italy.<sup>7</sup> There are 53 (or 54)<sup>8</sup> MSS. copies of the first *Pilgrimage*,

<sup>1</sup> ll. 3007-'12: "Tu dis voir, dist il, mes tresbien  
Me souvient que n'en fëis rien,  
Quant la merciére ou temps passe  
T'eu(s)t le bon mirouour monstre.  
Tost ou pennier le regectas,  
Quant ta laidure regardas."

<sup>2</sup> ll. 9376-'7: "Plus de soixante ans as vescu  
En la region mundaine."

<sup>3</sup> ll. 1721-'2: "Jeunece plus ne t'excuse  
Senecte cedens intruse."

<sup>4</sup> ll. 11070-'1: "Ou au moins, des que viellesce  
Vi venir, et aterminé."

<sup>5</sup> Introductory Notes to *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, p. vii.

<sup>6</sup> In the third *Pilgrimage*, as in the first, the author has told us the date. Cf. ll. 21-24:—Mesmement quar en une nuit  
L'an mil ccclviii.  
Songie m'estoie pelerin  
Où avoie fait grant Chemin.

<sup>7</sup> See Preface to *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*.

<sup>8</sup> It is not known whether the first or second recension is represented by MS. C<sub>2</sub> Haigh, Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Earl of Crawford, K. T.

first recension; 9 (or 10) of the first *Pilgrimage*, second recension; 43 of the second *Pilgrimage*; and 26 of the third.<sup>1</sup> Some of the mss. include all three *Pilgrimages*, some only two, and still others only one. There are 73 separate and distinct mss. in all. France, of course, possesses more of these than England. Those in England are as follows :

London, Brit. Mus., Additional 22937—V A J.<sup>2</sup>

London, Brit. Mus., Additional 25594—V A.

London, Brit. Mus., Harleian 4399—V.

London, Library of H. H. Gibbs, Esq.—V A J.

London, Library of A. H. Huth, Esq.—V A J.

Ashburnham Place, Library of Earl of Ashburnham,

Coll. Barrois 488—V A.

ibid. Barrois 74—V.

Cheltenham, Library of the late Sir Th. Phillipps, 3655—V.

Some time during the fifteenth century Jean Gallopes, who describes himself as a clerk of Angers, transposed the first and second of Deguileville's *Pilgrimages* into French prose.<sup>3</sup> In one of the mss. of Gallopes's prose version of the *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* it is said that the work was begun in February, 1464, "pour obeir a la requeste de treshaulte et excellante princesse et ma tres redoubtee dame Jehanne de laual, par la grace de dieu Royne de Jherusalem et de Sicille, &c."<sup>4</sup> Wright identifies this patroness of Jean Gallopes with Jeanne de Laval, queen of René le Bon, duc d'Anjou and titular king of Naples. She was born November 10, 1433, became the wife of René in 1454, and died in 1498.<sup>4</sup> Abbé Goujet, on the other hand, supposed her to be

<sup>1</sup> Two mss., V and D, are not included in this classification, "because," says Prof. Stürzinger, "I have not had an opportunity of consulting them, the present owner of ms. V being unknown and access to ms. D having been refused."

<sup>2</sup> V = first *Pilgrimage*, first recension, A = second *Pilgrimage*, J = third *Pilgrimage*.

<sup>3</sup> Gallopes did not transpose the third *Pilgrimage*. Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits François*, Paris, 1842, v, 132, describes a ms. entitled *Vie de Jesus Christ, mis en prose par Jehan Gallopes dit Le Galoys*. This is not, as has been supposed, the third *Pilgrimage* of Deguileville, but the *Meditations of Saint Bonaventure upon the life of Christ*. cf. VII, 249.

<sup>4</sup> Wright, Note to Preface.

Jeanne, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, Duchess of Anjou and Bar, and Countess of Provence, who died 22d May, 1382.<sup>1</sup>

If Gallopes changed Deguileville's first *Pilgrimage* from verse to prose as late as 1464, he must have done so after having already transposed the second *Pilgrimage*, for it was in obedience to the command of John, Duke of Bedford and Regent of France, whose Chaplain Gallopes was, that the prose rendering of the second *Pilgrimage* was made.<sup>2</sup> It has been asserted that Gallopes's prose version of Deguileville's second *Pilgrimage* was the text used by the translator of *The Pylgremage of the Soule* which was printed by Caxton in 1483.<sup>3</sup> This is clearly wrong, for in the colophon of Caxton's text it is distinctly stated that the translation was begun in 1413: "Here endeth the dreme of pylgremage of the soule, translatid out of Frenshe in to Englyshe, with somewhat of addicions. The yere of our Lord MCCC and thyrtten, and endeth in the Vigyle of Seynt Bartholomew."<sup>4</sup> The English prose version printed by Caxton does not differ sufficiently from the original of Deguileville to justify the supposition that the translator had any other text before him than the original French verse.<sup>5</sup>

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the French texts were frequently printed. In 1485 or '86 Mathieu Huss published *Le pelerin de vie humaine*,—Jean Gallopes's prose rendering of the first *Pilgrimage*; in 1499, the same work revised by Pierre Virgin. Antoine Verard published in 1499 *Le Pelerinaige de lame*, and in 1511 *Le Pelerinage de l'homme*. About 1500 Barthole et Petit brought out an edition of *Le romant des trois Pelerinaiges* which had been previously revised by the "Monk of Clairvaux."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. Franc.*, ix, 91.

<sup>2</sup> John, Duke of Bedford, became Regent of France in 1422 and died in 1435.—*Dic. Nat. Biog.*, xxix, 429. See also Wright, *Lyf of the Manhode*, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Blades' *Caxton*, 1863, II, 129; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, xxxiv, 315.

<sup>4</sup> K. I. Cust, *Partial Reprint of Caxton*, London, 1859, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *A Catalogue of the MSS. Preserved in the Library of the Univ. of Cambridge*, 1858, III, 565, MS. KK. I, 7.

<sup>6</sup> It is not known who was the "Monk of Clairvaux." Abbé Goujet—*Bibl. Franc.*, ix, 74—identifies him with the Pierre Virgin who revised the edition published by Mathieu Huss in 1499. But, as Wright (pp. vii-viii) observes, this conjecture must certainly be wrong, since the "Monk of Clairvaux" speaks disparagingly of this very edition.



In 1506 Michel Le Noir published *Le Pelerin de vie humaine*.<sup>1</sup> To these early editions should be added the edition of the three *Pilgrimages* by Prof. Stürzinger mentioned above.

### 3. ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

#### a. The First Pilgrimage.

The first English translation, apparently, of Deguileville's *Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine* was made by John Lydgate in 1426 at the request of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. Two MSS. of Lydgate's poem are in the British Museum—Vitellius, C. XIII, and Tiberius, A. VII. Both MSS. are imperfect, the latter being a mere fragment of some 4000 lines.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately the missing parts are contained in one of the John Stowe MSS., no. 952, in the library of Lord Ashburnham. These three MSS. furnish the text of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* recently edited for the E. E. T. S. by Dr. Furnivall.<sup>3</sup> Lydgate's verse translation represents the second recension of Deguileville's first *Pilgrimage*.

About the year 1430, just a century after the composition of the original work, an English prose rendering of the first *Pilgrimage*, first recension, was made. Nothing whatever is known of the translator except that he must have lived after the time of Chaucer, since Chaucer's *A B C, or Prayer to the Virgin*, is inserted in the translation.<sup>4</sup> This prose version is a slavish translation of the French original. It was edited in 1869 for the Roxburghe Club by William Aldis Wright from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Several MSS., which, though they have never been collated, are supposed to represent this version or a modernised form of it, are extant:

<sup>1</sup> A Spanish translation of the first *Pilgrimage* was published at Toulouse by Vincentio Mazuello in 1480, and again in 1499. Hill (p. 14) mentions two editions of a Dutch version of the first *Pilgrimage*.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 571, 578.

<sup>3</sup> Copious extracts from Vitellius, C. XIII are printed in the Appendix of Hill's book. See also "A Modern Prose Translation of . . . *The Pilgrimage of Man*," London, 1859—an abstract of Hill's book by its editor, Katharine Isabella Cust.

<sup>4</sup> In Vitellius, C. XIII, a blank space is left for its insertion.



1. Glasgow, Hunterian Museum, Q. 2. 25.
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud No. 740.
3. London, Sion College Library.
4. Cambridge, St. John's College, MS. G. 21—  
a copy in the Northern dialect.
5. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library,  
No. 2258.<sup>1</sup>
6. Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 5. 30.
7. Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 6. 30—a  
condensed and modernised seventeenth century  
copy of Laud No. 740.

In the last MS. of this list we have the version which was first suggested by Wright (p. x) as the one Bunyan may have known: "It is not within the scope of the present Preface to discuss a question which has been raised, as to how far Bunyan may have been indebted to this allegory for the idea and even the details of his Pilgrim's Progress. But it is at least worthy of remark that in the 17th century there was copied and circulated in manuscript a condensed English version of Guillaume de Deguileville's first pilgrimage. In the University Library, Cambridge, there is a small volume of 242 pages, of which the class-mark is Ff. 6. 30. The title is 'The Pilgrime, or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World. Wherein y<sup>e</sup> Authour doth plainly and truly sett forth y<sup>e</sup> wretchedness of mans life in this World, without Grace, our sole Protectour. Written in y<sup>e</sup> yeare of x<sup>t</sup>. 1331.' The colophon is as follows: 'Written according to y<sup>e</sup> first copy. The originall being in St. John's Coll. in Oxford, and thither given by Will. Laud, Archbp of Canterbury, who had it of Will. Baspoole, who, before he gave to y<sup>e</sup> Archbp the originall, did copy it out. By which it was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and frō thence transcribed by G. G. 1649. And frō thence by W. A. 1655.' The original here referred to is the Laud MS. quoted in the notes, and is now in the Bodleian Library, among the Laud

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Alfred Rogers of the University Library, Cambridge, has kindly examined this MS. for me. He informs me that the volume is in folio, is a seventeenth century copy, and that the writing looks even more modern than that of Ff. 6. 30.

MSS., n°. 740. It is not likely that Bunyan ever saw this, or the Glasgow ms. in the Hunterian Museum (Q. 2. 25), or the ms. from which the present volume is printed, or that in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge (G. 21), but he may at some time have fallen in with a little volume like that described above."

This seventeenth century copy contains no incidents or personifications that are not also found in Ff. 5. 30, the text of Wright's edition. Since it has never been published, and since Wright's suggestion concerning Bunyan has been often repeated, this copy has been made the basis of the comparison in the following chapter between Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Another translation of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* may possibly have been made by John Skelton. Among the several literary labors enumerated by the author in his *Garlande of Laurell* is the following :

"Of my ladys grace at the contemplacyoun,  
Owt of Frenshe into Englyshe prose,  
Of Mannes Lyfe the Peregrynacioun  
He did translate, enterprete, and disclose." <sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested that perhaps this is identical with the *Peregrinatio Humani Generis* printed by Pynson in 1508. But according to Herbert, the *Peregrinatio Humani Generis* is "in ballad verse, or stanzas of seven lines." It could not have been, therefore, the work mentioned by Skelton. <sup>2</sup>

### b. The Second Pilgrimage.

Of Deguileville's three *Pilgrimages* the second only was printed in English before Bunyan's time. This prose translation of the second *Pilgrimage*, published by Caxton in 1483, was

<sup>1</sup> Dyce, *Works of John Skelton*, I, 430, ll. 1219-1222.

<sup>2</sup> Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.*, 1812, II, 430; Warton, *Hist. of English Poetry*, 1824, II, 163; Wright, *The Pilgrimage of the Luf of the Manhode*, 1869, p. iii; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, LII, 327.

made, as the colophon informs us, in the year 1413.<sup>1</sup> Two mss. of this version, Egerton 615 and Additional 34,193, are in the library of the British Museum. The two are alike except for the fact that in the latter both the colophon and the epilogue of the translator are omitted. Other mss., presumably of the same version, are :

1. Among the Cecil mss. at Hatfield.
2. Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 1. 7.
3. Cambridge, Caius College.
4. Oxford, University College.
5. Oxford, Corpus Christi College.

Deguileville's second *Pilgrimage* treats of the Soul after death. Having been freed from the body, the Soul is immediately claimed by Satan. Its guardian angel remonstrates and insists that the matter be laid before Michael, the Provost of Heaven. The three proceed to the court of Michael, and here the Soul instead of making any defense appeals to the mercy of the judge. Justice, Conscience, and Reason array themselves against the poor Soul. Mercy flies to heaven and returns with a charter of pardon sealed with the Redeemer's own blood. The Soul is then permitted to pass into purgatory. In the fifth and last book it is led by its guardian angel into heaven.

There is not the slightest resemblance between the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* and the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

### *c. The Third Pilgrimage.*

The third *Pilgrimage*, it seems, has never been translated into English.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This translation has been sometimes ascribed to Lydgate, but with extreme improbability. The question is ably discussed by J. Shick in Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. 60, 1891, pp. ci-ciii.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 1358 the author imagines himself in a beautiful garden. He soon falls asleep. In his dream he sees an old man, who has climbed an apple tree and eaten some of the apples, fall to the ground. The ground opens and engulfs him. Carried to a high mountain the author hears Adam's guardian angel relate to the other angels the manner of Adam's fall. Justice, Verite, and Misericorde hold a

Our chief concern is with the first *Pilgrimage*. Time and again it has been asserted that Bunyan got "the idea and even many of the details" of his allegory from Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*; that he either read it himself or heard the story from some one who had read it.<sup>1</sup> Such an assumption must rest, in the first instance, solely upon internal evidence. The question to be answered is, are the resemblances between the two allegories sufficiently close to establish the probability of Bunyan's indebtedness to Deguileville. In the next chapter a detailed comparison will show how much, or how little, the later allegory owes to the earlier.

conference in heaven concerning the fate of Adam. They call in Sapience. She says that the only way by which Adam can be redeemed is for the King himself to become a man and atone for Adam's sin. The Son declares his willingness to make a pilgrimage on earth. Gabriel is sent to announce to Mary the birth of the Christ-child. The author now sees a great wonder. The Virgin appears as a great crystal penetrated by a ray of sunlight. This ray gradually assumes the form of a child. On the top of a mountain Mary and Elizabeth meet. The Son, yet unborn, declares to John, who is also still unborn, that he has chosen him for his messenger. At the Son's request, Mary sings the Magnificat. After the birth of Jesus, Joseph explains to Nature the immaculate conception, whereupon she flees. Jesus is circumcised by Vieille Loy, an old wrinkled woman who carries the table of the law under her arm. In the flight to Egypt the Holy Family meet Ignorance, an old blear-eyed woman, who reproaches Jesus for trying to save his life. No account is given of the stay in Egypt, nor is anything said about the life of Christ from the twelfth to the thirtieth year. In his thirtieth year Jesus, accompanied by Nouvelle Loy, meets John, the Baptist, and Vieille Loy on the banks of the Jordan. Vieille Loy surrenders to Nouvelle Loy her tablets and circumcision knife. Jesus is then baptized by John. From this on the allegorical figures disappear, and the gospel narrative is closely followed.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the opinions of Hill, Wright, and Kötz, which have been cited above, see also: "Bunyan and Plagiarism," *Catholic World*, 1868, vi, 535-544; "Bunyan and his Prototypes" in William Carew Hazlitt's *Offspring of Thought in Solitude*, London, 1884, pp. 213-220; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française des Origines à 1900*, Paris, 1896, ii, 205-207; Victor le Clerc, *Histoire Littéraire de la France au Quatorzième Siècle*, Paris, 1865, ii, 19; Gaston Paris, *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1888, p. 228; Saintsbury, *A Short History of English Literature*, London, 1898, p. 136, note, and p. 514; ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, English Translation, 1896, ii, Part II, 5-7; Announcements of E. E. T. S., p. 4.

## II.

### *PILGRIMAGE OF MAN COMPARED WITH PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.*

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#### 1. THE ALLEGORY A DREAM.

The *Pilgrimage of Man* begins with an invitation to all,—“be they Kings, be they Queenes, be they rich, be they poore, be they strong, be they weake, be they wise, be they fooles,”—to draw near and hearken to what the author will say. “Now vnderstand the dreame y<sup>t</sup> I had y<sup>e</sup> other night, as I lay in y<sup>e</sup> Abbey. Methought I passed out of my house, where I had been a prisoner nine months of y<sup>e</sup> season; & anon after me thought I was quickened, & stirred to vndertake a journey to y<sup>e</sup> faire city of New Jerusalem” (p. 1).

The *Pilgrim's Progress* is also an account of the author's dream: “As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep: and as I slept, I dreamed a dream.”<sup>1</sup>

#### 2. PILGRIM MEETS GRACE DIEU.

Pilgrim remembers that he lacks the two essentials of every pilgrimage—a scrip and staff. “And as I went weeping & lamenting seeking helpe I saw a Lady in my way, all faire & glorious: She seemed to me y<sup>e</sup> daughter of an Empero<sup>r</sup>, of a King or of some other great Lord. Courteous she was (methought) & first spake to me, asking what (with such sorrow) I went so seekeing. Whereat I was abashed, that so glorious a Creature should first designe to speake to me or cast her eye vpon me” (p. 2). Her name, she declares, is Grace Dieu. “I am she that thou shouldest chuse to be thy guide. . . . When thou shalt have

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 89.



need of me, so shalt thou call me, & calling me I will not faile thee" (pp. 3-4).

So Christian, in great distress of mind, meets with Evangelist : "I looked, and saw him [Christian] open the book, and read therein ; and as he read, he wept and trembled ; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying, 'What shall I do?' . . . Now I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the fields, that he was, as he was wont, reading in his book, and greatly distressed in his mind ; and as he read, he burst out, as he had done before, crying, 'What shall I do to be saved?' I saw also that he looked this way and that way, as if he would run ; yet he stood still, because, as I perceived, he could not tell which way to go. I looked then, and saw a man named Evangelist coming to him, who asked, 'Wherefore dost thou cry?'"<sup>1</sup>

### 3. THE WATER OF BAPTISM.

Pilgrim, warned by Grace Dieu that before the end of his pilgrimage he will encounter "lettings, mischeifes adversitieses & Incumbrances" and that then he will find her aid indispensable, begs her to become his guide. His request is granted and he is thereupon conducted to her house.<sup>2</sup> "But one thing discomforted me much ; there was a deepe water<sup>3</sup> before it, through which I must passe if I would enter into y<sup>e</sup> house ; ffor ship, nor bridge, nor planke was there none. And then I asked Grace-Dieu why there was such a passage, how I might escape, whether there were any other passage, and what good that water should do me ? Then she said, Art thou abashed for so little water. . . . Here thou ought to have no dread. . . . Here is the passage for all good pilgrims there is no other way or passage to Jerusalem except by cherubins . . . if thou consider well whence thou comest, & thy last abode nine months thou hast much need to purge thee & to wash thee. . . . Wherefore if thou wilt passe,

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> Grace Dieu's house had been "masoned thirteene hundred yeares & thirty before that time."

<sup>3</sup> In the margin of the MS. is written the word "Baptisme."

say it anon, & I will doe thee helpe by mine Officiall. He is y<sup>e</sup> keeper of this Sacrament, & the Minister of this passage, he shall helpe thee to passe, & shall passe thee by bathing & washing; & he shall put a Crosse upon thy forehead & upon thy breast, & anoint thee as a champion that thou mayest overcome all mischeife & not dread thine enemyes, but conquer Jerusalem. Now I pray thee answer amen w<sup>ch</sup> is thine Intent? And I said right humbly, It is my desire that y<sup>e</sup> Officiall come vnto me. Then came at her Comāndment y<sup>e</sup> officiall vnto me, & he tooke me by y<sup>e</sup> hands, & he put me into the water, there he washed me & bathed me, then he led me into the house of Grace-Dieu" (pp. 5-7).

The house of Grace Dieu Hill believes to be the prototype of the Interpreter's House. No reason is given in support of such a supposition. He simply asserts (pp. 21-22) "this is the *church* of Christ, for the expounding of the Scriptures; it is, in fact, the *Interpreter's house* of Bunyan." Bunyan, however, typifies the church, not by the Interpreter's House, but by the Palace Beautiful.

The Water of Baptism lying before the entrance of Grace Dieu's house has, according to Hill (p. 22), been "transformed by Bunyan (agreeably to his views) into the Slough of Despond, the duration of which he gives 'as above these sixteen hundred years'—the age of the Christian church in *his* time." But there is not the remotest connection between the rite of baptism and the Slough of Despond. "It is," says Bunyan, "the descent whither the scum and filth that attends conviction for sin, doth continually run, and therefore it is called the Slough of Despond: for still, as the sinner is awakened about his lost condition, there ariseth in his soul many fears and doubts, and discouraging apprehensions, which all of them get together, and settle in this place."<sup>1</sup>

Evidently there is no connection between the idea symbolized by the Slough of Despond and that symbolized by the Water before Grace Dieu's house. Is there any resemblance between the symbols themselves? Bunyan declares that this Slough had

<sup>1</sup> Ofor, III, 92.

caused the king's laborers much trouble "for above these sixteen hundred years." Deguileville, in describing the house of Grace Dieu, says that it had been "masoned thirteene hundred yeares & thirty before that time." An "official" is sent by Grace Dieu to help Pilgrim through this water. Bunyan, describing Christian's escape from the Slough, says: "But I beheld in my dream, that a man came to him, whose name was Help. . . . Then said he, Give me thy hand; so he gave him his hand, and he drew him out, and set him upon sound ground, and bid him go on his way."<sup>1</sup> These are the only features which the two descriptions have in common.

Before passing on, however, let us examine some further evidence, discovered by Hill and seemingly approved by Kötzt, of Bunyan's indebtedness at this point to Deguileville. The italics are Hill's. "Pilgrim is alarmed," declares Hill (p. 22), "at finding himself stopped by a stream without bridge or ferry, and *desponds*."

'Dolent en fu et fort pleuroie.'

Then, in a foot-note to the word *desponds*, he adds, "Christian also *desponds* at the sight of the lions, and thought of going back, till *Watchful*, the porter, cried unto him, saying, 'Is thy strength so small? Fear not the lions, for they are chained.'" Kötzt (p. 11) follows Hill without a word of dissent: "In ähnlicher weise verzagt auch Christian beim anblick der löwen vor dem Palace Beautiful, nur auf Watchful's zuspruch bleibt er fest. . . . Wie Gracedieu Pilgrim wegen seines kleinmutes vorwürfe macht, so fragt Watchful zürnend Christian: 'Is thy strength so small.'" The cause of Pilgrim's fear is wholly different from that of Christian's. Pilgrim is filled with dread because he must pass through a stream of water—symbolic of the rite of baptism; Christian, because he must pass by two lions—symbolic of civil and ecclesiastical persecution. The sole point in common between the two allegories is the fact that both Pilgrim and Christian experience fear. To cite this as an instance of borrowing on

<sup>1</sup> Offor, III, 92.

Bunyan's part weakens, rather than strengthens, the theory of his indebtedness to Deguileville.

#### 4. PILGRIM REACHES THE HOUSE OF GRACE DIEU.

Having crossed the Water of Baptism, Pilgrim is admitted to the house of Grace Dieu. Immediately upon entering he sees in the middle of the house the sign of the letter Tau, which was painted with the blood of the Lamb, and standing near it a vicar of Aaron or of Moses, clothed in a robe of linen, having his head horned and in his hand a rod crooked at the end. On the foreheads of his servants this vicar sets the letter Tau with which he blesses them, promising them mercy. In obedience to Grace Dieu's request he marks the forehead of the Pilgrim and blesses him. Dame Reason then in a long discourse explains to this vicar the meaning of the horned head, and of the staff crooked at the end: "Thou art horned without but be thou meeke & mercyall within, what worke soever thou goe about. for though thy rod be sharpe at y<sup>e</sup> one end, yet it is bowing at y<sup>e</sup> other end. Now then it betokens there should be in Thee meekeness to chastise with mercy" (p. 9). While Moses is listening to "y<sup>e</sup> sermon y<sup>t</sup> Dame Reason made him," "a great Company of folke came, & entreated Moses that some service in his house he would graunt them. Then Moses tooke a paire of sheares, & clipped their crownes, & said this shall be your part & your heritage, & if you be wise, let it be to you acceptable" (p. 12). These are preached to by Dame Reason and are told why they have shaven crowns. "When Reason had thus preached vnto his shorne, then Moses gave gladly to those that asked places in his house. Some he gave great wors<sup>p</sup>. others he made chamberers. Some Sergeants to arrest & put enemyes out of y<sup>e</sup> bodyes; some to serve at the great board where they did eate. To each one he gave some place in proper power or as Coadjutors; but to all he gave leave to be Readers in his house, & to preach Gods law" (pp. 13-14).

After another sermon by "Lady Reason the wise," "Moses would to dinner, & his meat was ready all otherwise then it was



wont to be. ffor there was onely bread & wine, which was not according to his desire; ffor he would have flesh to eate, & blood to drinke, thereby to deface the old Law. To helpe him he called G - D. & she came to him forthwith; & then behold I saw a great wonder to which there is none like. The bread he turned into flesh, & the wine into blood, as G - D had ordained it, & it seemed vnto me to be the body & blood of the white lambe. And then courteously he called his new officiall to dine with him, & taught him his cunning, giving him commission to make such conversion. And then he gave to eat to all his new shorne, without danger, & he ate with them, & drunke with them, & they rejoyced together" (p. 17).

In perfect amazement at this strange "mutation," Pilgrim turns to Dame Reason for an explanation. But in vain. "Herein," she declares, "I lack vnderstanding, & my witts are altogether blind." As he thus stands in great perplexity, he sees one approaching who had not "the cheere of gladship . . . but right wroth she seemed . . . with her thumbes vnder her girdle and her eyne glowing like y<sup>e</sup> eyne of a kite" (p. 18). This is Dame Nature, who, in great wrath because of the wonderful change wrought in the bread and wine, comes to chide Grace Dieu for having thus encroached upon her rights. Dame Nature declares that she is mistress of all that pertains to the earth, Grace Dieu of all that pertains to the sky. Too much already has she suffered from the encroachments of Grace Dieu. "Also I forgett not that you put fire into my green-bush (& yet it consumed not) without my will or privity. I remember also the dry Rods of Moses & Aaron; y<sup>e</sup> one ye made become an adder, & y<sup>e</sup> other ye made waxe green againe, & to beare leaves & flowers & fruit. Also ye turned my water into wine at y<sup>e</sup> wedding, I remember very well. Neither can I forgett the Virgin's conceiving and childing without the helpe of a man" (p. 20). Incensed by the angry reproaches of Dame Nature, Grace Dieu replies: "And I would answer you right fowle & beat you well, were it not for mine owne worship, & for the distempered wrath I see in you" (p. 21). What, she asks, would become of Nature, if she, the mistress of the Sun, should withhold it from the earth for an hundred



winters? Nature is only her hand-maid, and it ill becomes her to find fault with her mistress. "When G – D. had thus spoken to Nature . . . she kneeled downe at her feet meekely, & said, Lady I pray that on me you have mercy, argue no more against me; for plainly I see my default, & am sorry that ever so feirecly I stirred against you" (p. 25).

Pilgrim sees two others approaching whose names, he afterwards learns, are Penitence and Charity. In one hand Penitence holds a mallet, in the other a good rod, green and small, and in her mouth she carries a "besome." Of the mallet she says, "right as a child makes softnes in a hard apple by beating & juyce by smiting: right so with my mallet<sup>1</sup> I cause teares and sighs from sinners; & make them cry alas!" (p. 27). With the "besome" she cleanses and sweeps out old sins from the house of which she is the "Chamberer." This house has six gates. Through five of these—the gates of smelling, of tasting, of feeling, of hearing, and of seeing—filth enters. The sixth gate is the mouth through which this filth by means of her "besome" is purged. With the rod<sup>2</sup> she corrects evil-doers, "though they be 30 yeares old or more."

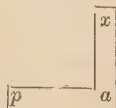
Charity "held a Testament of great charter wherein was written many letters." This contains the "Jewell of Peace,"<sup>3</sup> the legacy of Jesus Christ, without which no one may safely partake of the "Relief"—the bread and wine which Moses had changed into flesh and blood.

This "Relief," of which Penitence is "Porter and parter" and Charity "Aumner and dispenser," is the Bread of Life, the bread upon which the angels are fed, and with which pilgrims bound for Jerusalem should fill their scrips. "Bread & wine

<sup>1</sup> The mallet is called *Contrition* (p. 28).

<sup>2</sup> The name of the rod is *Satisfaction*; "that is to say, to suffer as much sorrow without grutching, as was thy delight in sinning" (p. 31).

<sup>3</sup> In the present MS. no mention is made of a cross, but in both Wright's text (pp. 38–39) and Lydgate's verse translation (Part I, p. 129) Charity describes the form of this "Jewell of Peace" as that of a cross with the letters *p*, *a*, *x* in the several corners. With this mention of a cross Hill (p. 24) compares the account of the cross at which Christian loses his burden.



though I call it," says Grace Dieu to Pilgrim, "I advise thee & charge thee that flesh & blood it be vnderstood of thee & stedfastly beleaved of thee. . . . Bread & wine it may seeme thee; for the foure witts they be deceived out, & foolish holden, they can nothing, doted they be, let them lye. But the witt of y<sup>e</sup> Hearing onely informes thee more then the Sight, Smelling, Touching or Tasting: for by hearing men knowes more soothly and perceives more clearely" (p. 37). Charity brought this wonderful bread from heaven; it was sown, harvested in barns, threshed and ground, but when Charity attempted to bake it, "she could not mould nor turne it at her will . . . she quickly remembred her of a mistris, y<sup>e</sup> most subtile & cunning that was in any towne or burrough to be found, her name was Sapience. . . . And Sapience moulded it, & baked it, & wisely the bread turned, as charity said to her" (pp. 38-39). Lady Sapience, who could put "all y<sup>e</sup> worlde in a boxe" and "y<sup>e</sup> sea in an eggshell," moulded this bread so subtilly that "it shuld seeme little & should all suffice." But in so doing she angered Dame Nature who sent her clerk Aristotle "to argue with her and to blame her." Aristotle contended that since the less could not include the greater, Dame Sapience, in making a small portion of this bread as efficacious as a large amount, had set at naught his Mistress, Dame Nature. Among the several examples brought forward by Sapience to show that the less can include the greater, is the following: Has he ever seen Greece and Athens, Aristotle is asked. "Certaine q<sup>d</sup> he I mind me well, that they are very great, & there are many schollers and many students, & people of diverse crafts. Now say me truly (q<sup>d</sup> she) where hast thou put & kept all this greatnes which thou tellest me. In mind I have put all these things most certainly. Ha, ha, said Sapience, then thou dost conclude if memory be in the head, the lesse containes the greater; Two great cities with all their students within the appple of thine eye" (p. 45).

I have quoted somewhat copiously from Deguileville's account of the personifications found by Pilgrim at the house of Grace Dieu, because it is just here that Hill finds the strongest evidence of Bunyan's indebtedness to the earlier allegory.

"Moses," says Hill (p. 22), "is succeeded by personifications of *Reason* or *Prudence*, and *Nature*, corresponding to *Worldly-wise-man* in Bunyan, who is 'obstinate' and railing. These are followed by *Sapience* or *Discretion*, by *Repentance* or *Piety*, and by *Charity* or *Love*." Then in a foot-note he adds, "*Discretion*, *Piety*, *Prudence* and *Charity* inhabit the palace called Beautiful, and entertain *Christian*." The first assertion of Hill's is wholly misleading to one who has not had access to Deguileville's text. Kötzt, for instance, after quoting it adds (p. 12), "Diese vier namen [Discretion, Piety, Prudence, Charity] begegnen uns wörtlich bei Bunyan: sie sind die bewohnerinnen des Palace Beautiful. Dieser umstand allein würde ziemlich genügen um den einfluss Guilevilles auf Bunyan sicher zu stellen." As a matter of fact only one of these names is common to the two allegories—Charity; the alternative forms—Prudence, Discretion, Piety, and Love—do not occur in Deguileville at all. There is little or no suggestion of the names—Discretion, Piety, Prudence—in the names—Sapience, Repentance, Reason, respectively. Nor is there the slightest resemblance between these crude personifications and the lovely damsels who entertain Christian at the Palace Beautiful. To assert that Dame Nature corresponds to Worldly-Wise-man is, to say the least, fanciful, but to assign as the sole reason for this belief the fact that both are "obstinate and railing" is simply astounding. In a foot-note to the phrase "'obstinate' and railing," Hill (p. 22) tells us that "*Obstinate* accompanies *Christian* and *Pliable* over the plains, and rails at them both." Hill's argument, it seems, is this: Dame Nature, being "obstinate and railing," corresponds to Obstinate; but she also corresponds to Worldly-Wiseman, for he too is "obstinate and railing;" hence Obstinate and Worldly-Wiseman must correspond to each other,—a conclusion, I venture to say, never before reached by any reader of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Moses, as Hill believes, is the prototype of Bunyan's Mr. Legality, and he compares an incident in which certain pilgrims, eluding Charity and Repentance, go directly to Moses for some of the "Relief" with Christian's turning aside to visit Mr. Legality. Deguileville relates the incident as follows :

“When Charity had said, & preached without gainesaying, then came many pilgrims that inclined to obey Charity’s commandment. And they went & y<sup>e</sup> Jewell of peace they took ever each vpon his breasts & passed by Penitence without dread of Her, & vnderput them to her Mallet, with her besome they were sweeped, & beaten with her Rods. And then the Releife they received at Moses hands without feare. Then I saw some Cursed, that came in by way refusing to come by Charity & Penitence & w<sup>th</sup>out shame did receive y<sup>e</sup> Releife also, to whom Moses gave it full courteous without exception. But wott you what? Hearken good people & I will tell you. After they had thus received it, they were all fowle & sicke in stomach, vsowled & hungry, because they had taken it vnworthily ffor they were no more sowled, then flying they had passed by y<sup>e</sup> doore of an Obly-maker,<sup>1</sup> having nothing to eate. But for the other it was not so with them, for they received & were sowled & satisfied, so that nothing in the world they praised in comparison of that. They became so faire, so gentle, & so debonier; but methought y<sup>t</sup> other were all fowle as well Clarke as Lorde” (pp. 35–36).

This incident, however, does not correspond to that in which Christian turns aside to visit Mr. Legality. Deguileville is trying to portray the condition of those who partake of the holy sacrament unworthily; in Christian’s turning out of his way to visit Mr. Legality, Bunyan symbolizes an entirely different idea,—the attempt to be justified, not through the redemption of Christ, but through the law. Hill’s arguments at this point are very confusing. At one time he identifies the pilgrims who had eluded Charity and Repentance and had gone directly to Moses with Pliable, at another time with Christian: “But,” continues Hill (p. 24), “it happened ill for them; for, as soon as they had left him [Moses], they looked as if they had come out of a *miry slough*,

‘Yssys du boubrier ou dun noir sac a charbonnier;’ like *Pliable*, ‘bedaubed with dirt,’ or had been ‘dipped into a sack of charcoal.’ They were black, filthy, vile, says De Guileville—*enhordiz et encore tous familleux*; but when they were tired of this relief they

<sup>1</sup> Explained in the margin of the MS. as “a maker of wafer-cakes.”



returned trembling, and begging to accompany the other pilgrims. So *Christian*, after 'having turned out of his way, to go to *Mr. Legality's* house for help,' . . . stands trembling before *Evangelist*." The English translations give no equivalent of the phrase "du bourbier," and so contain no suggestion of a *miry slough*. The present ms. describes the pilgrims as "fowle & sicke in stomach, vnsowled & hungry." Wright's text says (pp. 40-41): "Whan thei hadden had this releef riht as thowh thei hadden be comen out of a riht blac colyeres sak other out of a foul dong hep al blac thei bicomen and salwh foul and stinkinge and elded." Lydgate's version reads:

"But they retournede foul and blake,  
I menē, swych that of boldnesse  
Tokē yt nat in clennessē,  
As they ouht ha done off ryht;  
Swych wēr foul & blake of syht  
Lychē to a colyers sak,"<sup>1</sup>

Christian, it is true, after his futile attempt to visit Mr. Legality, "stood trembling" before Evangelist, but in none of the English versions of Deguileville are we told that the pilgrims "returned trembling and begging to accompany the other pilgrims."

Beyond the mere suggestiveness of law contained in the word *Moses*, there is no connection, it seems to me, between Deguileville's Moses and Bunyan's Mr. Legality.<sup>2</sup> Bunyan introduces the character, Moses, further on in the Allegory. Faithful is relating to Christian how, after his secret inclining towards the temptation of Adam the First, he was overtaken by a man who knocked him down three times; and who would have made an end of him, had not one come by who made him forbear. "That man," says Christian, "that overtook you was Moses. He spareth none, neither knoweth he how to show mercy to those that transgress his law."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lydgate, Part I, ll. 5122-7.

<sup>2</sup> Neither Mr. Worldly-Wiseman nor Mr. Legality appears in the first edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. See Elliot Stock's *Fac-simile Reproduction of the First Edition*, London, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> *Offor*, III, 119.



## 5. PILGRIM RECEIVES HIS SCRIP AND BOURDON.

Before Pilgrim can begin his journey, he must be provided, Grace Dieu tells him, with a scrip and bourdon. "Then into a place of great beauty she led me, without tarrying. And out of a Hutch (which she vnlockt) she wrought me a Scrip & a Burdon" (p. 48). In the scrip, which is called Faith, must be carried the provisions necessary for the journey. The bourdon, the name of which is Hope, contains in one end a mirror in which can be seen all countries. "Therein," says Pilgrim, "did I see that faire city, to y<sup>e</sup> which I intended my journey & my pilgrimage" (p. 50).

Both in Wright's text and in Lydgate's version the hutch from which Grace Dieu gets the scrip and bourdon is said to contain 'many a fair jewel.' In the verse translation Grace promises to show Pilgrim

"Thynges that wer with-Innë cloos,  
Wych I ha shewyd but to fewe."<sup>1</sup>

Christian is forbidden by the damsels of the Palace Beautiful to depart "till they had shown him the rarities of that place."<sup>2</sup> The names of the scrip and bourdon, Faith and Hope, suggest Christian's fellow-pilgrims, Faithful and Hopeful. The scrip contains the articles of the creed. To these Hill (p. 28, note) cites as a parallel Christian's roll, which he loses in the arbour. Pilgrim, by looking through a mirror in one end of his bourdon, sees the fair city to which he is journeying; Christian, by looking through the perspective glass of the Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains, obtains a view of the Celestial City.<sup>3</sup>

## 6. PILGRIM IS PROVIDED BY GRACE DIEU WITH ARMOR.

Pilgrim is greatly distressed upon learning that his bourdon is not "ironed," and refuses to be pacified until told by Grace Dieu

<sup>1</sup> Lydgate, Part I., ll. 6212-13.

<sup>2</sup> Offor, III, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Offor, III, 145.

that his bourdon "is not to smite with, nor fight with but only in faith to trust vnto," and that she will provide him armor with which to defend himself against his enemies. "Then G-D. entered within a Curtaine, and called me. Behold q<sup>d</sup> she yonder on high is armour enough to arme thee with; there are Helmets, Habergeons, Gorgets, Jacks, & Targets, and all that needs good pilgrim to defend him, against deadly enemyes. Now take there that thou wantest: I give thee leave" (p. 56). Pilgrim is then armed with the doublet of Patience, helmet of Temperance, gorget of Sobriety, gauntlets of Continence, sword of Justice, scabbard of Humility, girdle of Perseverance, buckle of Constancy, target of Prudence.

Hill, alluding to this incident, says: "We now come to the prototype of the armoury contained in 'the stately palace called *Beautiful*,' which Bunyan thus describes: 'The next day they had him into the armoury, where they showed him all manner of furniture, which the Lord had provided for pilgrims—as sword, shield, helmet, breast-plate, all-prayer, and shoes that would not wear out. And there was here *enough* of this to harness out as many men, for the service of their Lord, as there be stars in the heaven for multitude'" (p. 28). Even Kötz (p. 13, note 3) shows some hesitancy in accepting Hill's suggestion: "Ich halte das nicht für ausgemacht, denn alle die armories, die in dichtungen religiösen inhalts sehr beliebt waren, gehen auf die bibel (Ephes. 6) zurück." Bunyan's "All-prayer" and "Shoes that would not wear out" prove conclusively that his source is not Deguileville's allegory but St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians.

## 7. PILGRIM BEGS GRACE DIEU FOR AN ATTENDANT.

Pilgrim finds the armor so burdensome that he resolves to take it off—as David once did. At his request an attendant is provided to carry the armor for him. The attendant, whose name is Memory, has her eyes set in the back of her head. She "perceiveth nothing of y<sup>e</sup> time to come," says Grace Dieu to Pilgrim, "but she can tell thee all that is past . . . Memory shall attend thee with thine armour, y<sup>t</sup> in time of need thou mayst arme & defend thee, against thine enemyes" (pp. 73-74).

Lydgate's version shows considerable variation at this point from the texts of the first recension. Upon Pilgrim's refusal to wear the armor, Grace Dieu promises to give him the stones which David used against Goliath and which she has long kept for playing with her maidens the French game of Toss-Ball.<sup>1</sup> After receiving the stones, Pilgrim asks for a cart to carry his armor. Bidden to look behind him, he does so and sees the wench Memory, the description of whom accords with that in the first recension.<sup>2</sup> Both in Wright's text and in the present MS. mention is made of David, but none of the stones with which he slew Goliath.

Hill (p. 30) cites as another instance of Bunyan's indebtedness the fact that among the rarities of the Palace Beautiful shown to Christian we find included "the sling and stone with which David slew Goliath of Gath." But in such an enumeration as Bunyan here makes, nothing could be more natural than that he should have included "the stone and sling of David." The whole passage reads: "They also showed some of the engines with which some of his servants had done wonderful things. They showed him Moses' rod; the hammer and nail with which Jael slew Sisera; the pitchers, trumpets, and lamps too, with which Gideon<sup>3</sup> put to flight the armies of Midian. Then they showed him the ox's goad wherewith Shamgar slew six hundred men. They showed him, also, the jaw-bone with which Samson did such mighty feats. They showed him, moreover, the sling and stone with which David slew Goliath of Gath."<sup>4</sup> Surely nothing could be more absurd than to maintain that Deguileville's mention of the sling and stones of David as part of the armor furnished Pilgrim by Grace Dieu—and that too in the very texts which Bunyan is least likely to have seen—must have suggested to Bunyan the inclusion of the sling and stones of David in such an enumeration as the above.

Bunyan, unlike Deguileville, sends forth his pilgrim fully armed. The damsels of the Palace Beautiful, before permitting

<sup>1</sup> These stones, five in number, are: (1) Memory of Christ's Death for Mankind, (2) Remembrance of Christ's mother Mary, (3) Memory of the everlasting bliss of Heaven, (4) Memory of the Pains of Hell, (5) Holy Writ.

<sup>2</sup> Lydgate, Part I, pp. 234ff., Part II, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Offer misprints "Gibeon."

<sup>4</sup> Offer, III, 110.

Christian to resume his journey, had him again into the armoury, where "they harnessed him from head to foot with what was of proof, lest, perhaps, he should meet with assaults in the way."<sup>1</sup> The *Pilgrim's Progress* contains no personification of memory, but in the *Holy War* we are told that Capt. Experience had "for his coronet one Mr. Memory."<sup>2</sup>

#### 8. PILGRIM GOES TO MOSES FOR SOME OF THE "RELIEF."

Just as Pilgrim is on the point of leaving Grace Dieu's house, he is bidden by her to go to Moses for some of the "Relief." "Then to Moses I went & asked Releife, such as he graunted vnto Pilgrims, all which he gave me willingly, which I put into my scrip; Then I turned me again to G. D. . . . , praying and humbly beseeching her, y<sup>t</sup> she would not be farre from me at my need, nor leave me comfortles" (p. 74). In reply Grace says that, though she is to be invisible to his bodily eyes, she will not depart from him so long as he may keep the right way and prove himself valiant.<sup>3</sup>

Bunyan, in describing Christian's departure from the Palace Beautiful, says: "Then he began to go forward; but Discretion, Piety, Charity, and Prudence, would accompany him down to the foot of the hill. . . . Then I saw in my dream that these good companions, when Christian was gone to the bottom of the hill, gave him a loaf of bread, a bottle of wine, and a cluster of raisins; and then he went on his way."<sup>4</sup>

The "relief" given to Pilgrim is, of course, the holy sacrament. The bread, wine, and raisins given to Christian have no such specific meaning but are symbolic, apparently, of the general notion of help or assistance.

<sup>1</sup> Offor, III, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Offor, III, 318.

<sup>3</sup> Part I. of Deguileville's allegory ends at this point. Part II. begins: "After in sleeping other wonders I saw, w<sup>ch</sup> I will tell you as I behight" (pp. 76-77). Bunyan, also, abruptly breaks off and then resumes his story, but at a much later point in the allegory: "So I awoke from my dream. And I slept, and dreamed again." Offor, III, 145-6.

<sup>4</sup> Offor, III, 111.

## 9. PILGRIM ENCOUNTERS RUDE ENTENDEMENT.

Pilgrim's first adventure after leaving Grace Dieu's house is his meeting with Rude Entendement. "And as I went thus alone thinking, on the sudden I met with a great churle, ill shapen, beagle-browed & fronted. He bare vpon his neck a staffe of a Crab-tree & seemed to me to be a full cruel master-man & a way-waiter. Then he said me (with a fowle & terrible voyce) whence comes & whither goes this Pilgrim: he thinkes he is full well & quaintly armed, but anon I will surely beate him with my staffe. When this I heard him speake, I became wondrous sore abashed & feared in my heart: for I thought he would runne vpon me without abiding, although courteously I spake him & meekely. S<sup>r</sup> I desire ye that ye will not annoy me, nor lett me in my voyage, for I am a Pilgrim, & little letting would greive me greatly. Certaine q<sup>d</sup> he the Incombrance comes of thine owne seeking; whence comest thou y<sup>t</sup> thou darest breake the law, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> king hath ordained? A while agoe the king ordained that none should beare Serip or Burdon in his Country, & thou hast vndertaken to beare them both. what art thou? & whence comest thou, that darest vndertake this matter? Evill thou come, & evill thou goe, & evill hither hast thou brought them. Never day in thy life didst thou so great folly. When these words I heard, more sad & feared I was, & sore forethought I had not armed me; but then too late it was & what to do I wist not; stirre I durst not, plead mine owne cause I neither could nor durst, because I was not armed" (pp. 77-78).

The incident at once recalls Christian's first adventure after leaving the Palace Beautiful: "But now, in this Valley of Humiliation, poor Christian was hard put to it; for he had gone but a little way, before he espied a foul fiend coming over the field to meet him; his name is Apollyon. Then did Christian begin to be afraid, and to cast in his mind whether to go back or to stand his ground. But he considered again that he had no armour for his back; and, therefore, thought that to turn the back to him might give him the greater advantage, with ease to pierce him with



his darts. . . . So he went on, and Apollyon met him. Now the monster was hideous to behold; he was clothed with scales, like a fish (and they are his pride), he had wings like a dragon, feet like a bear, and out of his belly came fire and smoke, and his mouth was as the mouth of a lion.<sup>1</sup> When he was come up to Christian, he beheld him with a disdainful countenance, and thus began to question with him.

*Apol.* Whence come you? and whither are you bound?

*Chr.* I am come from the City of Destruction, which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of Zion.

*Apol.* By this I perceive thou art one of my subjects, for all that country is mine, and I am the prince and god of it. How is it, then, that thou hast run away from thy king? Were it not that I hope thou mayest do me more service, I would strike thee now, at one blow, to the ground.”<sup>2</sup>

Christian engages in a fearful combat with Apollyon, nor does he receive any assistance until he has put his enemy to flight. “Then there came to him a hand, with some of the leaves of the tree of life, the which Christian took, and applied to the wounds that he had received in the battle, and was healed immediately.”<sup>3</sup> In Deguileville’s allegory no combat takes place. Pilgrim is delivered from Rude Entendement by the happy arrival of Dame Reason, with a letter from Grace Dieu authorizing her to command this churl—who is described as “a way-spyer, & a waiter for pilgrims, to bereave them of Scrip & Burdon beguiling way-faring men with false and lying words”—to cease from his molestations of pilgrims.

There is, undoubtedly, some resemblance between these two incidents, and yet the ideas symbolized are not the same. Apollyon, of course, is Satan, and his attack upon Christian represents the wiles of the evil one to ensnare those who abandon his service for the service of Christ. It has often been pointed out that under the imagery of Christian’s terrible fight with Apollyon Bunyan is recording the peculiar temptations which had beset him and which,

<sup>1</sup>See *Revelations*, xiii, 2; ix, 11.

<sup>2</sup>Offor, iii, 111.

<sup>3</sup>Offor, iii, 114.

he says, lasted about a year.<sup>1</sup> By Rude Entendement, Deguileville endeavors to represent those who misinterpret the Scriptures. The churl defends his conduct towards pilgrims on the ground that the Scriptures forbid any man to bear scrip and staff,<sup>2</sup> to which Dame Reason in the verse translation replies :

“ But to-forn he sholdē deye,  
That precept he gan modefyē  
Radeth luk the gospeler.”<sup>3</sup>

where the reference is clearly to *Luke*, xxii, 35–36.

#### 10. PILGRIM COMES TO THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

After the encounter with Rude Entendement a long conversation between Pilgrim and Dame Reason ensues, in which he is told that his inability to bear the armor was on account of his greatest enemy, who, he finally learns, is his own body.<sup>4</sup> Upon receiving Dame Reason's promise to be within hearing in case he needs her help, Pilgrim resumes his journey.

“ Thus alway I went in great thinking & studying, when presently I saw my way part, & forked in two, & between them I saw a great hedge high, thicke & wonderfull ; all bepricked with bushes and bryars & thornes intermeddled throughout. On y<sup>e</sup> left hand there sate & leaned her on a stone a nice gentlewoman, that sett one hand vnder her side, & in her other hand she played her with her gloves, fitting them, & turning them about her fingers, & by her countenance she seemed to be of little care, for she nothing regarded spinning nor labour. On y<sup>e</sup> other way sate a man which seemed to me to be of little worth ; for his cloaths were all old tattered & torne ; a wrinkled visage, bald head, & his eyne were sunke & dimme, much of poverty & wretchedness he had I

<sup>1</sup> See *Grace Abounding*, §§ 171–81.

<sup>2</sup> *Luke*, x, 1–4 ; *Matt.* x, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Part II, p. 296, ll. 10815–6, 10823.

<sup>4</sup> In Wright's text (p. 94) Pilgrim's spirit is separated from his body, and for a short while he experiences the delights of a purely spiritual existence. In Lydgate's version (Part II, pp. 248–282) Grace Dieu, and not Dame Reason, disembodies his soul, and the incident takes place before he leaves her house.

thought; and but a foole I wist him by his trade, & by his doing; for a matt-maker he was, & y<sup>t</sup> which seemed to me strange was, that he made & arrayed in one houre, in another he destroyed, & all vndid, which was methought little praiseworthy" (p. 104).

The name of the mat-maker is Labor or Occupation. In reply to Pilgrim's inquiry as to which of the two ways he should take in order to reach the City of Jerusalem, he urges him to take the right hand way. Pilgrim's body, however, is strongly opposed to following the way of Occupation and insists upon his speaking with the "damosell" about the other way. Her name is Idleness. She is one of the daughters of Sloth, and delights in combing and curling her hair, in beholding her face in a mirror, in sitting on easy seats. Pilgrim decides to follow the path of Idleness.

The representation of the course of human life under the imagery of a forked road is very old. Xenophon so pictures the choice of Hercules in the *Memorabilia*; <sup>1</sup> Pythagoras uses the letter "γ" (γ) to symbolize the course of man's life; <sup>2</sup> the Bible speaks of the broad and the strait way; the 'parting of the ways' occurs in Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* and in Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*.

While the idea of a forked way is not found in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, there are two passages which, being descriptive of Christian's wandering from the right road, show some resemblance to Pilgrim's choice of the path of Idleness. The first of these relates how Christian and Hopeful were misled into By-path Meadow: "Now, a little before them, there was on the left hand of the road a meadow, and a stile to go over into it; and that meadow is called By-path Meadow. Then said Christian to his fellow, If this meadow lieth along by our way-side, let us go over into it. Then he went to the stile to see, and behold, a path lay along by the way, on the other side of the fence. It is according to my wish, said Christian. Here is the easiest going; come, good Hopeful, and let us go over." Here they are captured the next morning by Giant Despair and thrown into Doubting Castle.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Book II, Chapter I.

<sup>2</sup> Hill, Appendix, p. xxx, note.

<sup>3</sup> Offor, III, 138-139.

The second passage, which describes how Christian and Hopeful were led astray by Flatterer, shows more likeness to Deguileville: "They went then till they came at a place where they saw a way put itself into their way, and seemed withal to lie as straight as the way which they should go; and here they knew not which of the two to take, for both seemed straight before them; therefore, here they stood still to consider. And as they were thinking about the way, behold a man, black of flesh, but covered with a very light robe, came to them, and asked them why they stood there. They answered, they were going to the Celestial City, but knew not which of these ways to take. Follow me, said the man, it is thither that I am going. So they followed him in the way that but now came into the road, which by degrees turned, and turned them so from the city that they desired to go to, that, in little time, their faces were turned away from it; yet they followed him."<sup>1</sup>

Mention might also be made of the fact that at the foot of the Hill Difficulty there were, in addition to the narrow way leading straight over the hill, two other ways, called Danger and Destruction, one of which turned to the right, the other to the left.<sup>2</sup>

#### 11. PILGRIM IS ENTANGLED IN THE CORDS OF SLOTH.

Between the two paths lies the hedge of Penitence, on the opposite side of which Pilgrim sees Dame Reason and Grace Dieu. He is advised by them to pass through the hedge quickly, before it grows "too thicke or too pricky." "As I went musing busily seeking a hole in y<sup>e</sup> hedge, there was set in my way strings of cord, which I perceived not, wherewith I found myself suddenly arrested, by which I was sore abashed and greived at y<sup>e</sup> heart" (p. 113).

Christian and Hopeful, after being misled by Flatterer, have a somewhat similar experience: "But by and by, before they were aware, he led them both within the compass of a net, in which they were both so entangled, that they knew not what to do. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 150-151.

<sup>2</sup> *Offor*, III, 104.

At last they espied a Shining One coming towards them, with a whip of small cord in his hand. . . . So he rent the net, and let the men out. . . . Then I saw in my dream, that he commanded them to lie down; which, when they did, he chastised them sore, to teach them the good way wherein they should walk.”<sup>1</sup>

The punishment inflicted by the Shining One upon Christian and Hopeful comes much nearer being a parallel to the hedge of Penitence than does the stile leading into By-path Meadow. Indeed, I fail to see any connection whatever between the hedge and the stile, which Hill (Appendix, p. xxviii) would have us believe are identical.

## 12. PILGRIM MEETS SLOTH.

Pilgrim now encounters several ‘vile old hags,’—fantastic creatures utterly devoid of any humanlikeness. The first of these is she who had entangled him in her cords. By her side she bears a butcher’s axe, about her neck is bound a “fardle of cords.” Her name is Sloth;<sup>2</sup> the axe is called “Annoy of Life;” the cords, Negligence, Ease, Desperation. Pilgrim begs that he be allowed to pass. “Then she drew her Axe from vnder her girdle, and smote me so great a blow, that downe to the earth she overthrew me, which made me cry Alas & woe is me that I had not mine Armour done vpon me! good in that season had it been. ffor had I not had in my scrip of the ointment (never made by deadly man) which G — D. put therein, wherewith I anointed me quickly, y<sup>e</sup> stroke had been to me my fine” (p. 119).

Sloth also threatens to bind him with the Hangman’s cord.<sup>3</sup> “When I heard these menacings I was sore troubled, & my heart trembled, and then I saw the writing on my Burdon, which something gladdened me, & my heart thereto inclined, & I griped my Burdon with both my hands, & thereto so much leaned, that by little & little I recovered my feet againe, & would have come towards

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Sloth is the mother of Idleness,—the damsel who persuaded Pilgrim to follow her path.

<sup>3</sup> This is the cord called Desperation; it is the cord with which Judas hanged himself.



the hedge; but the Old was neither slow nor sleepy, but followed me with her Axe. . . . And anon she threatened me, that if I drew me never so little to the hedge-ward, with her cords & with her Axe she would do me downe dead" (pp. 119-120).

Several of these names are found in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Sloth is one of the three whom Christian finds fast asleep and vainly tries to waken.<sup>1</sup> Ease is the name of a "delicate plain" through which Christian and Hopeful pass;<sup>2</sup> Giant Despair—all the world knows.

### 13. PILGRIM MEETS PRIDE RIDING UPON THE NECK OF FLATTERY.

After escaping Sloth Pilgrim continues to wander alongside the hedge, being afraid to pass to the opposite side. "As I went me all along hither & thither . . . vpon the pendance of a hidious hill, neare to a valley fowle, deepe, & darke,<sup>3</sup> two Olds more I saw coming towards me, most fearefull & wonderfull to looke vpon; the one riding vpon the others necke. She that was borne was so big & so swolne, that her bignes passed measure; for her greatnes seemed to me not to be the worke of nature: vpon her necke she bare a wicked staffe, & on her forehead she had a horne, by which she seemed to me to be right terrible. In one hand she held a horne, & by a baldricke she bore a great paire of bellows. She was arrayed with a white mantle, & a paire of spurres with long rowells she had on her heeles, & it seemed to me that she was mistris of y<sup>e</sup> other: for she made her goe where she would, & doe what she list. And she held her a mirrour, & therein she looked her visage & her countenance" (pp. 120-121).

This is Pride, the daughter of Lucifer, astride the back of Flattery. The horn, with which she wounds all—priest or clerk not excepted—is named Cruel. The bellows, called Vain-Glory, "are made to blow & quicken y<sup>e</sup> coales of evill life." Her

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 103, 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Pilgrim's Progress* two valleys are mentioned: the Valley of Humiliation and the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

unnatural size she thus explains: "by these bellows can I draw & gather wind againe, for when any doe goe blowing or whistling me in mine case, saying me that I am faire, that I am noble, y<sup>t</sup> I am courteous, mighty, wise, & worthy; then that wind I draw vnto myselfe, & in my wombe I make it place; that is the cause I am become so great as thou seest, that make me heave vp my taile as a peacocke, & to them that sees nothing, seeme glorious" (p. 130). The horn, which she carries in her hand, is called Vaunting, Lying, or Boasting, and serves as a vent through which she blows out the wind and vapors of her swollen womb. The two spurs are called Disobedience and Rebellion; the staff, Obstinacy—the same that Rude Entendement bore; the mantle, Hypocrisy.

She upon whose back Pride is borne replies in answer to Pilgrim's questions: "flattering is my right name, Treasons right cosen, eldest daughter to ffalschood, & a nurse to Iniquity. ffrom my breaste vices draw their nourishment. . . I am to pride an vndersetter, & a sustainer in speciall, her I beare vpon my neck & support, & were it not for me, fall she would anon" (p. 138).

Most of these names occur in Bunyan's two allegories, some more than once. *Pride of Life* is one of the daughters of Adam the First<sup>1</sup>; among the friends to disown Faithful after his setting out on a pilgrimage is one named *Pride*,<sup>2</sup> while in the *Holy War* Mr. Pride is numbered among the Diabolonians.<sup>3</sup> *Obstinate* tries in vain to induce Christian to return home.<sup>4</sup> Formalist and Hypocrisy, who are from the land of *Vain-glory*, take the paths of Danger and Destruction and are lost<sup>5</sup>; Lord Desire of *Vain-glory*, a nobleman, lives in the town of Vanity.<sup>6</sup> Capt. *Cruel* is an officer in the Army of Diabolus<sup>7</sup>; Mr. *Cruelty* and Mr. *Liar* are two of the jurymen chosen to try Faithful.<sup>8</sup> Capt. *Boasting* is an officer in the Diabolonian army.<sup>9</sup> *Flatterer* induces Christian and Hopeful to leave the right way<sup>10</sup>; Mr. *Flatter* is the father of Mr. False-peace.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Offer*, III, 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 345.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 292.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 145, 151.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 313.

14. PILGRIM MEETS ENVY WITH TREASON AND DETRACTION  
ASTRIDE HER BACK.

While talking with Flattery Pilgrim sees another hag, old and hideous, approaching. "She went vpon y<sup>e</sup> ground like a dragon, creeping on all foure, & wott it well, she was so leane & so dry, that she vpon her had neither flesh nor blood, all her joynts & her sinewes seemed to me vnhid. Vpon her backe there sate two other hags that were as ghastly as the first, or more dreadfull and horrible. The one was masked with a false visage, y<sup>t</sup> no man rightly might know her, and a dagger she concealed vnder her lap. The other Old held a speare all pricked full of mens eares, y<sup>e</sup> one end to me-ward extended, the other end to herselfe-ward, gnawing on a bone all bloody at y<sup>e</sup> one end, & y<sup>e</sup> other end impied with iron, to hooke poor wayfaring men & pilgrims; & y<sup>e</sup> old shrew made her so feirce, y<sup>e</sup> evill passion came oft vpon her, thereby she seemed to me more feirce & cruell" (pp. 139-140).

These three hags, the one with the other two astride her back, are Envy, the daughter of Pride and Satan, and her two daughters Treason and Detraction. The threats and reproaches of Detraction recall the speech with which Apollyon accosted Christian. "How darest thou be so hardy qd she to bring into our Country that staffe in thine hand, and that scripp about thy necke; for I tell thee truly, I hate both them, and them that beares them. ffor Albeit faire semblance I make (as my sister doth) to mens faces, yet when time serves, I will breake vpon them, & wound & bite them behind, so that thereof they shall have great smart. This I will doe, & this I must doe, because thou bearest a staffe; for my mother envy hateth thy staffe, thou & thy father. Therefore of me soone shalt thou have an evill death" (p. 147).

The speare which Detraction bears is her own tongue, and the ears, pricked upon this spear, are those of her hearers who please themselves with the evil of her mouth. Upon these ears feeds her mother Envy.

Pilgrim is set upon by all three. Detraction smites him with her spear, Treason pricks him with her knife, while Envy beats

him sorely enough, crying, "Yeild thee wretch, yeild thee: for escape thou mayst not" (p. 150).

Of these names only one is found in either the *Pilgrim's Progress* or the *Holy War*. The three witnesses who testify against Faithful in the town of Vanity are *Envy*, *Pickthank*, and *Superstition*.<sup>1</sup> Some of the "Bloodmen" captured by Prince Immanuel's forces were from the town of Malice in the county of *Envy*.<sup>2</sup>

### 15. PILGRIM MEETS WRATH.

Pilgrim's dismay is increased by the coming of still "another Hag, foule & ill-favoured to looke vpon, who cryed out with an hideous noise, hold him, hold him, & let him not escape till I come, but bereave him of his Burdon, vnto which he trusteth" (pp. 150-151).

This "Old One" has, hanging at her side, "a sharp & cutting sithe"; in her hands she carries two great flint stones, and in her mouth she holds a saw. "My name & my craft," says she to Pilgrim, "thou shalt know soone enough; for I am Wrath, y<sup>e</sup> rivelled fury of y<sup>e</sup> lowest pitt, y<sup>e</sup> Toad venomd, the Jangler, y<sup>e</sup> chider, she that of sweetnes have nothing. I am more hasty then flame of fire & more bitter then wormewood" (p. 151).

The two stones which she carries in her hands are called *Despise* and *Chiding*. The significance of the saw held in her mouth she explains at some length: "Now Hearken & I will tell thee how Dame Justice (the Smithier of vertues and the forgresse) have a file, (& a sharpe one too) called *Correction*. With her file she fileth sin to y<sup>e</sup> roote, & it suffereth neither rust nor filth to appeare vpon folke. Now hearken; vpon a time she vndertooke me to file y<sup>t</sup> no rust should be vpon me nor filth. But wot you what; I turned my Iron . . . towards her file & when she thought to have filed me, she filed my iron, & so indented it & so hacked it, y<sup>t</sup> a saw thereof I have made as thou here seest, the teeth are sharpe

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Offor*, III, 364.

& great, like y<sup>e</sup> teeth of an angry hound. Odium the saw is called by w<sup>ch</sup> I disjoynt y<sup>e</sup> love of brotherhood. . . . And I beare this saw between my teeth, to y<sup>t</sup> end that when I say my Pater noster, I be sawne & dissevered from God y<sup>e</sup> ffather; for when y<sup>t</sup> I pray him to have mercy on me, & forgive me my misdeeds, as I forgive them that have misdome me, & nothing I forgive them, well I wott y<sup>t</sup> against my selfe I pray, turning y<sup>e</sup> teeth of y<sup>e</sup> saw to meeward, for he y<sup>t</sup> forgive not, shall not be forgiven" (pp. 152-4). The scythe, called Homicidium or Occision, she girds upon murderers and manslayers when they become her knights. With it many shrewd deeds are done, in royal palaces as well as in other places.

Mr. Wrath and Lord Murder, Diabolonians against whom the inhabitants of Mansoul are warned, are all that Bunyan gives us that is suggestive even in name of the old hag Wrath and her scythe Occidium.<sup>1</sup>

#### 16. PILGRIM PASSES THROUGH A HORRIBLE VALLEY.

Pilgrim is urged by his handmaid, Memory, to put on his armor and to free himself from these vile hags. This he would gladly have done, had not Sloth and her evil companions occupied his whole time and attention. Bitterly he laments his folly in taking the part of Idleness. "As I was thus lamenting, all sad and sorrowfull, I saw before me a valley, darke, deepe & horrible, through which I must passe, If I would forth of my miseries, whereof I was sore abashed and right sorrowfull, for by darkenes & vnknowne wayes many pilgrims have been lost: In thickets & woods dwells theeves & murderers & right wild beasts. Such did I find great store, of w<sup>ch</sup> I will tell thee tomorrow if thou wilt come againe. But here I will make a resting & bid thee good night" (p. 156).

Hill (Appendix, p. xxxiii), compares this valley with Bunyan's Valley of the Shadow of Death. Elsewhere (p. 33) he surmises that the Valley of the Shadow of Death may have been suggested

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 322.



by the *Valley Perilous* of Sir John Mandeville. But certainly most of us will agree with Dr. Brown that "it is not worth while to go to Sir John Mandeville's '*Valley Perilous*'"—and he might also have added Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*—"for the suggestion of the Valley of the Shadow of Death while we have the twenty-third Psalm."<sup>1</sup>

#### 17. PILGRIM MEETS AVARICE.

In this valley Pilgrim is confronted by an old hag more terrible and repulsive than any of the preceding. "As I descended in my way, another Old, of other fashion, of other manners, of other fowlenes then ever I had seen before shrewdly disguised, sett her in my way. And it seemed to me y<sup>t</sup> advisedly she intended to make me her prey, by her approach and fierce bearing. But a thing so fowle & ugly I find not in y<sup>e</sup> profit Daniell, nor Ezekiel, nor in y<sup>e</sup> Apocalypse: In all my life never did I see a thing so fowle, so embossed, & so mishapen, & it plainly appeared, that flee she would not; About her neck did hang a wallet all to be clouted, therein she had put iron & brass good store, & sacked it together; her tongue did helpe her much thereto, which did hang out all defaced, & fowle with measells; She had sixe hands & two stumps, two of her hands had nailes, like y<sup>e</sup> nailes of Griffins: one of which she strongly put behind her: In y<sup>e</sup> other she held a file, & a paire of bellows in y<sup>e</sup> third, in which she poised the Zodiack & y<sup>e</sup> sunne, with great intent to sett them to sale. In the 4<sup>th</sup> hand she held a dish & a pocket with bread. in the 5<sup>th</sup> she held a Crosier, & y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> she laid vpon her broken haunch, and sometime put it vnto her tongue. And vpon her head there sate a mammon, which made her looke downewards" (pp. 157-158). She was engendered by Satan among the loathsome creatures of the lowest hell, and afterward given over to usurers to be nursed and brought up. "I have hands enough to gripe," she tells Pilgrim, "but none to give, for they that I should give withall are cut of by y<sup>e</sup> stumps by my father, that ministreth vnto me. . . .

<sup>1</sup> John Brown, *John Bunyan*, 1885, p. 290.

Sixe hands I have to gripe with sixe manner of wayes, & I beare a sacke to fill w<sup>ch</sup> is bottomles, & y<sup>e</sup> mettall I put therein is heavy & presse me downe so hard, y<sup>t</sup> I shall rise no more. . . . I sometimes taught Judas the Traitour, till he betrayed the king his master, & then by my weight he was tumbled downe, & plunged into Hell" (pp. 164-165).

This fantastic creature represents Deguileville's conception of Avarice. Her six hands are called Rapine, Cut-purse or Theft, Usury, Trewnoise [Beggary], Simony, and Treachery. At great length Avarice explains to Pilgrim the uses of each hand.

In Bunyan's allegories the idea of Avarice is variously personified. We have, for instance, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*—Mr. Hold-the-World, Mr. Money-love, Mr. Save-all, Mr. Gripe-man, a school-master in Love-gain in the town of Coveting, Sir Having Greedy; in the *Holy War*—Gripe, Rake-all, Mr. Covetousness alias Good-Husbandry, Lord Covetousness alias Prudent-thrifty.

Hill (Appendix, p. xxxv, note) cites as a parallel to Deguileville's Avarice Bunyan's Demas. But just as in the case of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, so here, the suggestion evidently came to Bunyan from the Bible.<sup>1</sup> The description of Demas's attempt to entice Christian to the silver mine in the Hill Lucre<sup>2</sup> has nothing in common with Deguileville's crude conception of Avarice. With just as much reason Hill might have suggested as counterparts to Avarice's tongue Perjury and her spavined haunch Leasing—Mr. Liar,<sup>3</sup> one of the jurymen chosen to try Faithful; and to Avarice's sixth hand Treachery—Capt. Treacherous,<sup>4</sup> a Diabolonian slain by Capt. Execution.

## 18. PILGRIM MEETS GLUTTONY AND VENUS.

While Avarice is preaching to him Pilgrim hears a voice crying, "Harrow Harrow, fellowes hold him fast & let him not escape us

<sup>1</sup> "For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed into Thessalonica . . ."—ii *Tim.*, iv, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Offor*, iii, 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 295.

now. ffor well I see that Avarice is too mild & doe but gab" (p. 180). Upon hearing such words, declares Pilgrim, "I turned me aside & beheld a fearefull vgly, and hideous to look vpon, with great eyne and a long nose, holding a sacke fowle & deepe between her teeth, & she swore me a great Oath by All hallowes, & y<sup>e</sup> truth she bare vnto St. George, I should not escape her hands, for she would hold me by the throat & strangle me.

"And another I saw come after her with a visage like a lady (but it was false) which made me much afraid, for she rode vpon a swine, & was quaintly arrayed, but her clothing was all befowled with dung & filth, her true face & fashion she covered with her hood; a dart in her hand she bore, wherewith she smote me through the eye vnto y<sup>e</sup> Heart, whereof much misse befell me, y<sup>t</sup> I had not on my Armour" (p. 181).

The first, being asked her name, replies: "Gluttony . . . that in my pearched sacke put so much meat, as well may serve six poore men that wants. So much I eat, so much I drinke, & so much I sacke vp, that it becomes fowle & stinking, loathsome to myselfe, and loathsome to other folke" (p. 182).

Turning to the other creature, Pilgrim inquires who she is. "I am Venus," she replies, "of whom thou hast heard Gluttony speake erewhile. I am she that put Virginitie to silence, & make y<sup>e</sup> place past her returning. I pursue Chastity over all the world, without stinting either day or night . . . I ride vpon a swine to shew my fowle desires by tumbling in y<sup>e</sup> dirty, fowle & filthy places; fowle I am vnto thine eyes, but much fowler I am didst thou see me openly. Therefore I weare this painted visage to make thereof a coverture for my filthiness. My hood is called ffraud; for when I am become elded with y<sup>e</sup> time, riveled and frounced, by art I make me bright and beautifull in despite of nature . . . I am indeed a very dung-pott & a wallet. . . .

"And then y<sup>e</sup> Hag [Venus] smote me with a dart to y<sup>e</sup> very heart, & felled me to y<sup>e</sup> ground; Gluttony fell vpon me & held me by the throat. Avarice & all y<sup>e</sup> rest smote me by turnes, & well they shewed that no gowt was on them; for they were too quicke" (pp. 186-188).

Sir Having Greedy in the *Pilgrim's Progress* and Ensign Devourer in the *Holy War* are the nearest approach Bunyan makes to a personification of Gluttony. Each is a mere name, however. The idea of impurity—Deguileville's Venus—is personified again and again. In the *Pilgrim's Progress* are found such names as Lord Carnal-Delight, Old Lord Lechery, Mr. Love-lust, Miss Lust-of-the-flesh; in the *Holy War* such names as Mrs. Carnal-lust, Mr. Carnal-sense, Mr. Evil-concupiscence, Lord Fornication, Lord Adultery, Mr. Flesh, Lord Lasciviousness, Lord Mayor Lustings, Mr. Whoring.

There are just two incidents in the *Pilgrim's Progress* which show any resemblance to Pilgrim's encounter with the old hag Venus. The first is that in which Mrs. Wanton assaults Faithful. Faithful, recounting to Christian his experiences, says, "I escaped the Slough that I perceived you fell into, and got up to the gate without that danger; only I met with one whose name was Wanton, who had like to have done me a mischief.

Chr. It was well you escaped her net; Joseph was hard put to it by her, and he escaped her as you did; but it had like to have cost him his life. But what did she do to you?

Faith. You cannot think, but that you know something, what a flattering tongue she had; she lay at me hard to turn aside with her, promising me all manner of content.

Chr. Nay, she did not promise you the content of a good conscience.

Faith. You know what I mean; all carnal and fleshly content.

Chr. Thank God you have escaped her; 'The abhorred of the Lord shall fall into her ditch.'

Faith. Nay, I know not whether I did wholly escape her or no.

Chr. Why, I trow, you did not consent to her desires?

Faith. No, not to defile myself; for I remembered an old writing that I had seen, which said, 'Her steps take hold on hell.' So I shut mine eyes, because I would not be bewitched with her looks. Then she railed on me, and I went my way."<sup>1</sup>

The second is that in which Mr. Standfast tells of his expe-

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 117-118.

rience with Madam Bubble: "As I was thus musing, as I said, there was one, in very pleasant attire, but old, who presented herself unto me, and offered me three things: to-wit, her body, her purse, and her bed. . . . I repulsed her once and twice, but she put by my repulses, and smiled. Then I began to be angry; but she mattered that nothing at all. Then she made offers again, and said, If I would be ruled by her, she would make me great and happy; for, said she, I am the mistress of the world, and men are made happy by me. Then I asked her name, and she told me it was Madam Bubble."<sup>1</sup> Madam Bubble, however, is a personification of the pleasures and allurements of the world; strictly speaking, she is not a counterpart of Deguileville's Venus.

#### 19. PILGRIM LOSES HIS BOURDON.

In the fierce onset of the old hags Pilgrim is bereft of his bourdon. Bitterly he laments ever having undertaken the journey and especially his folly in having followed the path of Idleness, for now he has lost both Dame Reason and Grace Dieu. While thus vainly reproaching himself, he perceives hovering above his head a cloud, and from this cloud he hears a voice crying: "Vp, coward, wretch, vp I say, & make not here thine abode; too much hast thou creeped vp & downe in this country, evill hast thou done thy craft & prooved thy selfe a shrewd knight. I have here brought againe thy Burdon. . . . To me stretch out thy hand & take it; I once more give it vnto thee; & I will establish thee & help thee, for I will not y<sup>e</sup> death of a sinner, although thou hast done evill against me. And I will that thou convert thee & amend thee, & passe y<sup>e</sup> hedge of penitence & live. . . . And then I tooke her my hand, & to my Burdon she put it; which I most gladly griped & leaned to. So much I pained me, & so much she assisted me, that every Old then to me vgly & stinkinge soone forethought them, & went to their own Region, shamefully to their confusion" (pp. 190-2).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Offor, III, 238.

<sup>2</sup> In Wright's text Grace Dieu throws down from the cloud a writing. This is Chaucer's *ABC* or *Prayer to the Virgin*. MS. Vitellius C. XIII contains a blank space for its insertion. The present MS. omits the whole of chapters LV-LIX of Wright's text.



As a parallel to Pilgrim's loss of his bourdon might be cited Christian's loss of his roll.<sup>1</sup>

## 20. PILGRIM BATHES IN THE WATER OF REPENTANCE.

Pilgrim now has pointed out to him by Grace Dieu a rock, in the upper part of which he sees the figure of an eye, and from this eye drops of water falling into a vat placed beneath. The rock represents the stubborn heart of a man who has forsaken the way of salvation; the drops of water are the tears of repentance. In this water Grace Dieu tells Pilgrim he must be bathed. He complains that there is not enough water in the vat, whereupon, with the same rod that Moses used, she smites the rock and the vat is filled to the brim. "And then without tarrying I entered, I washed & bathed me; And well I wott, had I there continued longer time, cleane and whole had I bin throughout. But soone thereout I went; to such bathing I was never vsed; I was not like King David that watered every night his Couch with his teares, & bathed himselfe with y<sup>e</sup> heat of his owne sorrow" (p. 195).

In the *Pilgrim's Progress* two instances of washing are introduced, both being in the Second Part.

(1). The keeper of the Wicket Gate "fed them [Christiana, Mercy, &c.], and washed their feet, and set them in the way of his steps, according as he had dealt with her husband before."<sup>2</sup>

(2). Christiana, Mercy, and the boys are entertained at the House of the Interpreter: "Then, said he to the damsel that first opened unto them, Take them and have them into the garden to the bath, and there wash them, and make them clean from the soil which they have gathered by travelling. Then Innocent the damsel took them, and had them into the garden, and brought them to the bath; so she told them that there they must wash and be clean, for so her master would have the women to do that called at his house, as they were going on pilgrimage. They then went in and washed, yea, they and the boys and all; and they

<sup>1</sup> Offor, III, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Offor, III, 181.

came out of that bath, not only sweet and clean, but also much enlivened and strengthened in their joints. So when they came in, they looked fairer a deal than when they went out to the washing. . . . Then he [the Interpreter] called for the seal, wherewith they used to be sealed that were washed in his bath. So the seal was brought, and he set his mark upon them, that they might be known in the places whither they were yet to go.”<sup>1</sup>

The second instance alone shows any likeness to Deguileville. This likeness, however, does not extend to the ideas symbolized, Pilgrim's bath being the bath of repentance, Christiana's the bath of sanctification. The metaphor is so common, especially in the Bible, that little or no significance can be attached to the fact that both allegorists make use of it.

## 21. PILGRIM REACHES THE SEA OF THE WORLD.

After the bath Pilgrim resumes his journey and soon comes to “a sea, which was much troubled with great winds, stormes & cruell tempests.” He is amazed at the sight which greets him. “Men & women therein I saw swimming diversely of which some floated above y<sup>e</sup> water, with much labour: some easily stood vpright & seemed to fly, for they had wings. Some had their feet fettered with the weeds of y<sup>e</sup> sea, which much annoyed them, some with hands & feet fast bound sanke, no more I saw them. And other some I saw diverse wayes blinded, of which I will be silent” (p. 197).

In the sea he perceives a foul, hideous beast, with a horn hanging about his neck, fishing with cords and nets. “When he saw me coming, anon he blowed his horne, & he stretched out his cords & his netts, y<sup>t</sup> I might not escape his snares. . . . In this my great perplexity, I saw a great hag, old & filthy to looke vpon, y<sup>t</sup> came running backwards towards me with a faggot of wood vpon her necke, & she ran reeling over & over, crosse overthwart hither & thither still crying yeild thee wretch, yeild thee. ffor seeing thou hast lost thy way, thou hast lost thy life” (pp. 198–199).

<sup>1</sup> Offer, III, 189. Bunyan calls this the bath of sanctification.

This old hag is Heresy, who threatens to rob Pilgrim of his scrip and bourdon and to burn him in a fire made from the bundle of faggots borne on her neck. Pilgrim, however, plucks up courage, and, seizing the bourdon, smites her such a blow that she is glad enough to escape. He is rewarded for his bravery by the praise of Grace Dieu, who now appears, and by her promise to lead him back into the right path.

From her he learns the meaning of the sea and of the fisherman. This is the sea of the world. Those who go erect and have wings are they who care little for the pleasures of the world, who do not seek in the sea the things that are necessary for "y<sup>e</sup> ghost"; these will in time be carried by their wings, which are the wings of virtue, into the fair city of Jerusalem. Those who go with their heads beneath, and their feet above, the water, have been weighted down by the sack of Avarice; they are lost beyond all hope. Those who have their legs and feet bound by weeds are such as delight only in the things of the world; they cannot fly; it is as much as they can do to swim. The blind are those who, having had their sight destroyed by the vanities of the world, fail to see that the world and all that it contains are foul. The fisherman is Satan who ever strives by his hooks, his baits, his snares, his tempting vanities, to catch those in the sea in order to lead them to everlasting destruction.

The *world*, *Satan*, *heresy* appear also in Bunyan's allegories, but how different is his conception of them from that of Deguileville! Vanity Fair, Apollyon, and Mr. Heresy—a Diabolonian found lurking in Mansoul<sup>1</sup>—have nothing in common with the Sea of the World, the fisherman Satan, and the old hag Heresy. It is hardly supposable that the Sea of the World could have suggested to Bunyan the River of Death, though to believe this seems just as reasonable as to believe that the Water of Baptism is the prototype of the Slough of Despond.

## 22. PILGRIM MEETS JUVENESSE AND TRIBULATION.

While Grace Dieu is explaining to Pilgrim the meaning of the Sea, there approaches "a damosell wanton with a ball in her hand ;

<sup>1</sup> Offor, III, 322.

quaint & nice she seemed to be by her bearing, & her feet all rough & feathered like a dove" (p. 204). Her name is Juvenessee, and, being "light and nimble," she spends the time in playing with her ball. Setting Pilgrim upon her neck she carries him into the Sea of the World, into which she often plunges him. While in this perilous position, he sees another old hag riding the waves of the sea and steering straight for him. "Like a smithier she seemed . . . for she had an apron of a skin girt about her loynes, & in her hands a great hammer, & a pair of tongues. . . . Hitherward, q<sup>d</sup> she, thou mussard, light downe & learne to swimme in this sea, for thou shalt be no longer borne: worke for thyselfe, thou art of age I trow" (pp. 208-9). Upon inquiry Pilgrim learns that her name is Tribulation; that her hammer is called Persecution; her tongs, Distress and Anguish; the skin from which her apron is made, Shame and Confusion. She bears letters of commission both from God and from Satan, and tells Pilgrim that he can not possibly escape.

"And as she so said, she did, & smote me so great a blow, that she felled me vnto the sea; for Juvenessee soone let me fall, & left me in y<sup>e</sup> place, & had not my Burdon bin, I had bin drowned in y<sup>e</sup> sea, so great & dangerous was y<sup>e</sup> blow, & I could not swimme at all, but griped fast my Burdon, which susteined me. . . . as I was thus swimming in y<sup>e</sup> sea, y<sup>e</sup> smithier me followed alwayes beating & so fast knocking vpon me, holding me with her tonges, that in a pressure I seemed to be, with so much anguish & sorrow of heart, that well nigh I had let my Burdon goe downe into y<sup>e</sup> sea, goe where it would" (p. 214).

Realizing his extreme danger, Pilgrim cries to God in bitter anguish and with penitent heart, whereupon Tribulation declares that she is simply a "Tryer," that she chastises the dissolute and smites the dull in order that she may save them, and that she herself will carry him to Grace Dieu. Grace, upon seeing Pilgrim, reproaches him for allowing himself to be misled by Juvenessee, but, seeing how deeply penitent he is, she relents and promises to conduct him the shortest way to the fair city toward which he is traveling.

Bunyan has no character corresponding to Tribulation, nor to Juvenesse, unless it be Madame Bubble whom we have already compared with Dame Venus. Over against Shame or Confusion, the name of the skin from which Tribulation's apron was made, may be set Shame,<sup>1</sup> one of those whom Faithful met in the Valley of Humility, and Mr. Shameless,<sup>2</sup> who dwelt in Nauseous Street, Mansoul.

### 23. PILGRIM ENTERS THE SHIP OF RELIGION. .

Pilgrim is led by Grace Dieu to a ship "wonderfull & great, floating in y<sup>e</sup> sea well nigh y<sup>e</sup> strand, & ready to make passage. She was fast fretted, & all bownd about with hoopes, but some of y<sup>e</sup> hoopes were loose & shaken by y<sup>e</sup> neglect of y<sup>e</sup> overseers; notwithstanding good were y<sup>e</sup> hoopes, for they were sufficient, had they bin well observed. In y<sup>t</sup> ship were many mansions and dwellings, delicate & noble, & seemed . . . to be houses of kings, ffor there were strong walls & towers, & vpon the mast hung a faire saile ready to sett forward, nothing wanting but good wind y<sup>t</sup> had none encumbrance" (pp. 218-9).

The name of the ship is Religion. The frets and hoops are Observances. So long as she is well girt with these, she can not perish; but there are some who care so little for the small hoops, which signify the little commandments, that often the whole ship is in danger. The mast that bears the sail is Jesus Christ; the good winds are the Holy Ghost. Grace Dieu, who is mistress of this ship, advises Pilgrim to enter and lodge in some of the castles and towers, for, she declares, "they are all strong & defensible & keep thy body & thy soull, that they may be hurt by no enemies, ne put in danger. Better in this way then swimming. In the sea men be in perill alwayes" (p. 220). Pilgrim, however, hesitates, for at the entrance to the ship stands a porter with a great mace upon his shoulder, ready to smite every one who enters. The porter is named Fear of God, the mace God's Vengeance. Encouraged by Grace Dieu, Pilgrim at length enters, "but," he

<sup>1</sup> Offor, III, 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 312.



declares, "y<sup>e</sup> Porter forgat me not, but gave me such a blowe, that to y<sup>e</sup> ground he felled me, & had not my Burdon been to me a sustainer, never had I risen more" (p. 222).

Nothing corresponding to the Ship of Religion is found in either the *Pilgrim's Progress* or the *Holy War*. The Palace Beautiful, which symbolizes somewhat the same idea, is quite different. Only in one point does it show the least resemblance to the Ship of Religion, and even here there is a variance: Pilgrim hesitates to enter the Ship *for fear of* the porter, Dread-of-God; Christian, frightened at sight of the lions, hesitates to enter the Palace Beautiful *until encouraged by* the porter, Watchful.

The name of the porter, Dread-of-God, finds its closest parallel in Bunyan's Mr. Godly-Fear—one of Emmanuel's followers who resisted the wiles of Mr. Carnal-security.<sup>1</sup>

#### 24. PILGRIM MEETS MANY FAIR LADIES IN THE SHIP.

In this ship are "Dortours, Cloysters, Churches, Chappels, Castles, Towers & faire houses many a one," and in these Pilgrim meets many "fair ladies." They are Charity, Obedience, Discipline, Wilful Poverty, Chastity, Study of Holy Writ, Temperance, Orison, and Latria. Charity is the same as she who held the parchment of peace when Moses divided the "relief" at the house of Grace Dieu. Lady Obedience, who is next in command after Grace Dieu, bears cords with which she binds the hands, tongues, feet, and eyes of all the folk. Discipline carries in her mouth a file which is the knowledge of evil, and with it she scours and cleanses old sins. Wilful Poverty, who wears only a gambeson, sings joyously because she is entirely naked and so has nothing to hinder her passage to "y<sup>e</sup> Wicket." Her companion, Chastity, arrayed in a white rochet, is a deadly enemy to Venus, who had stolen the hearts of the people and driven her out of the world. Study of Holy Writ is the "Pittauncer" of the house; Lady Temperance, superintendent of the refectory. Lady Orison serves the dead, while Lady Temperance serves the living. She

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 326.

has wings with which to fly and an auger, called Fervent Continuance, with which to pierce the heavens. Lady Latria plays upon various instruments, one of them being a horn called the Invocation of God.

With the exception of Charity, none of these personifications are found in either of Bunyan's allegories.

## 25. PILGRIM IS ATTACKED BY OLD AGE AND INFIRMITY.

Pilgrim is now seized by Lady Obedience and bound hand and foot. As he lies perfectly helpless, he sees two "old ones" approaching. "The one bare vpon her necke two potents, her feet were of lead, & a boxe like a messenger did hang behind her. The other was a Messenger also, & vpon her head she bare a bed; her laps were tucked vp like a wrestler" (p. 230). The latter is the first to speak. "I am . . . Infirmitie the tedious, y<sup>t</sup> where-soever I find health, there I set me to wrestle & so wrestle till I vanquish; one hower I vanquish, another howre I am overthrowne, but seldom or never am I beaten doune, but by y<sup>e</sup> helpe of medicine, which doe some comfort, & was borne I thinke to drive me away; but eft-soone I returne & abide, maugre all their boxes, their ointments, their plaisters, & potions, & then anon I beare them downe, & fell them to y<sup>e</sup> earth, their marrow I sucke vp, their blood I drinke, & their flesh I eate, so that I leave them no strength nor vertue in their limbes, but cast them vpon their beds. Of which my working when my mistrisse perceives, anon she comes, & drawes out their life, either syne or soone" (p. 232).

Then said the other "old one:" "I am she y<sup>t</sup> when thou wert borne by Juvenesse, thou put me in forgetting, & thought never to have seen me. Thou said in thy heart, Tut, she is farre of, she will not come a good while, she have feet of lead & goe softly, I have time enough to play me. . . . Now I tell thee truly, feet of lead I have, & soft I goe . . . And though I doe goe softly, yet I have thee overtaken, & bring tidings, y<sup>t</sup> Death, great Death, Death y<sup>e</sup> Just, y<sup>t</sup> none forbear, is nigh vnto thee. I am her messenger, & none can more truly warne then I. . . . I am called Eld the doted, y<sup>e</sup> leane, y<sup>e</sup> rivelled, y<sup>e</sup> hoare-headed, y<sup>e</sup> bald. . . .

Nevertheles one kindnes I will doe thee, thou shalt have my potents to leane vpon; not that I intend to bereave thee of thy Burdon, but with y<sup>e</sup> spirituall staffe y<sup>e</sup> temporall is vsefull. The Burdon is a staffe for y<sup>e</sup> soull, but my Potents are to susteine thy body, to y<sup>t</sup> end & purpose I have made them" (pp. 234-5).

The only point of similarity which even Hill (Appendix, p. lii, note) was able to discover between this part of Deguileville's allegory and the *Pilgrim's Progress* is the bare fact that just as Old Age in the former is provided with crutches so is Mr. Ready-to-Halt in the latter. He might have added that just as Old Age offers to lend Pilgrim her crutches, so does Mr. Ready-to-Halt offer to lend Mr. Feeble-Mind his.<sup>1</sup> In justice to Hill it should be remembered that his book was published after his death from MS. notes. Had he lived to revise them, it is probable that such absurd points of comparison as the hedge of Penitence and the stile leading into By-path Meadow, the crutches of Old Age and the crutches of Mr. Ready-to-Halt, would have been omitted. It is astonishing to find Kötze (p. 14), in his summary of Hill's work, accepting, without a word of protest, these suggestions as evidence of Bunyan's indebtedness to Deguileville: "dabei ergeben sich denn noch manche punkte der berührung zwischen Guileville und Bunyan, z. b. die hecke am scheideweg und the stile auf der By-path Meadow; die krücken von Old Age und die crutches von Mr. Ready-to-Halt; anklänge an das 'Thal der Todes-schatten' etc."

## 26. PILGRIM IS CARRIED BY MISERICORDE TO THE INFIRMARY.

Pilgrim is seized by Age and Infirmary and bound fast. Being in this "pitiful plight," he is gladdened by the coming of a lady "for in countenance she seemed simply good, her face beautifull & pleasant, her breast was drawne out by y<sup>e</sup> vent of her coat, & in her hand she held a cord, which she vnfolded" (p. 236). With this cord she draws wretches out of misery, and therefore she is

<sup>1</sup> Offor, III, 223.

called Misericorde. She it is that feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, comforts the sorrowful, and entertains in her house poor pilgrims. "Ffor this purpose," she declares, "G-D. made me ffarmorer<sup>1</sup> in this place, therefore if thou wilt come, and goe with me, I will helpe & serve thee" (p. 237). Pilgrim is ready and willing to go, but begs that she will first free him of the two "messengers" who lie so hard upon him. "Do them away, qd she, I may not, for they must goe with thee, but thou shalt enter there to rest, & they shall there attend thee, vntil their mistris come vnto thee, which will not be long" (p. 237).

Mercy, the companion of Christiana and the boys on their pilgrimage, is the only one of Bunyan's characters who shows the slightest connection even in name with Deguileville's Misericorde.

## 27. PILGRIM IS SET UPON BY DEATH.

In the infirmary Pilgrim enjoys a brief period of rest, being greatly "comforted by the good lady of the place," but much afflicted by the "two messengers"—Old Age and Infirmary. Here death finds him. "Sodainely appeared a fearefull Old one vnto me, setting one foote vpon my bed, the other vpon my breast, which so abashed me, & put me in such feare that speake I could not, nor aske her any question. In her hand she held a sithe, wherewith she offered to now [mow] up my life. Which when G-D. perceived (who was not farre of) she said hold a while, I will say him two words before thou smite him. . . . And then G-D. came to me, & sweetly said. Now I see thee neare home, & at y<sup>e</sup> straite gate which is the end of thy Pilgrimage. Loc Death stands (with leaden feet & slow pace, yet come at last which is y<sup>e</sup> end of y<sup>e</sup> flesh & the determining) to mow vp thy life, & to give thy body to y<sup>e</sup> wormes, w<sup>ch</sup> thing is common to all. . . . Now looke whether thou be well appointed and prepared for this entrance or no; if thou be not, long of thyselfe it is; yet whilest thou breath, loose no time, for thou art neare y<sup>e</sup> wicket, even at the gate of y<sup>e</sup> faire city Jerusalem, to which thou hast been excited to

<sup>1</sup>Superintendent of the infirmary.

goe" (pp. 239-40). Gladly would he have questioned Grace Dieu further, but it is too late. "Methought I was surprized, & that death had made her sythe runne through my body & my soull, to part which was to me great anguish & paine. In which feare I did awake out of my sleepe, being all in a sweat, & much troubled in my mind. Notwithstanding, vp I rose, & to the mattins I went, where little list I had to heare, or to pray, I was so affrighted, & my heart so fixed on y<sup>t</sup> that I had dreamt" (pp. 240-1).<sup>1</sup> With the single exception that both writers "awake from dreams," there is no resemblance between the closing scenes of the two allegories. Bunyan, however, does not awake from his dream until Christian and Hopeful are safely over the River of Death and actually within the city of the New Jerusalem.

Part I. of the *Pilgrim's Progress* concludes with the author's address to the reader, in which he admonishes him to seek the spiritual interpretation of his dream, to "throw away the dross" but to "preserve the gold." "These lines at the conclusion of Bunyan's dream," says Hill (Appendix, p. lvi), "show how similar are the metaphors employed both by himself and De Guileville in their parting addresses to the reader." Now Lydgate's translation contains no parting address to the reader but ends abruptly with

"And, such a feer anoon me took  
Out of my slep that I a-wook."

Wright's text and the present MS. both have what might be called "a parting address to the reader," but neither shows any likeness to Bunyan's concluding lines; in fact the language is not even figurative. The French text published by Barthole et Petit shows some similarity at this point to Bunyan, and it is this text, doubtless, which Hill had in mind. Below are printed the last two stanzas of Bunyan's address to the reader and the concluding lines of this French version.

<sup>1</sup> In Wright's text Pilgrim is waked by the ringing of the convent bell.



BUNYAN.

“Put by the curtains, look within my veil,  
Turn up my metaphors, and do not fail;  
There, if thou seekest them, such things to  
find,

As will be helpful to an honest mind.  
What of my dross thou findest there, be  
bold

To throw away, but yet preserve the gold;  
What if my gold be wrapped up in ore?  
None throws away the apple for the core.  
But if thou shalt cast all away as vain,  
I know not but 'twill make me dream  
again.”<sup>1</sup>

DEGUILEVILLE.

“Nul esmerueiller ne s'en doit,  
Car i'amaïs froment on ne voit  
Croistre / qu'entour paille n'y aye,

Jusques que dehors on l'en traye;  
Par quoy, s'en mon songe y a grain,

Et auecques paille ou estrain  
Y ait / ce qu'est bon / soit gardé;  
Ce que n'est bon, soit hors venné.  
Que ne dy pas tant seulement  
Pour ce premier liure present,

Dont cy endroit ie feray fin,  
Pour me reposer en chemin,  
Mais aussi pour ce que s'ensuit,  
Ou tout le grain en paille gist,  
Que recommande aux bons venneurs,  
Qui sceuent hors venner erreurs.”<sup>2</sup>

Hill (p. 40) also calls attention to the similarity between the envoys of Deguileville and Bunyan, but this, he thinks, “must of course be regarded as a circumstance perfectly fortuitous.” This envoy, which is found in neither of the English prose versions but only in Lydgate's translation, is as follows :

And when that yt a-mendyd ys,  
And se that nothyng be a mys,  
By a lace I shal yt were,  
And a-bowte my nekke yt bere,  
Send yt forth to euery contre,  
Wher-as to-forn that yt hath be,  
Ageyn my wyl & my plesaunce.  
And thus for a Remembraunce,  
Go forth thow dreme! I sende the  
By all the placys wher thow hast be;  
I send the to thy provynours,  
By all the pathys & the tovs,  
ffor thow knowest the weyë wel,  
And the passage euerydel.  
On my be halff[e] thow not ffaylle  
To dresse yt ewyn by entaylle,

<sup>1</sup>Offor, III, 167.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted by Dr. Furnivall. Lydgate, Part II, p. 665, note.

Wher thow wer ffirst, wych doth me greve,  
And took of me no maner leve.

Doo tellë myn aventure cler,  
How passyd syx and twenty yer,  
Tellë vn-to on and all,  
How that yt ys [to] me ffall,  
In the Abbey off Chalys,  
Whylom floundyd off Seyn Lewyys.<sup>1</sup>

Bunyan sends forth the Second Part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* in a somewhat similar way:<sup>2</sup>

"Go now, my little book, to every place,  
Where my first Pilgrim has but shown his face,  
Call at their door."

Such beginnings were at one time very common.<sup>3</sup> A much more probable prototype of Bunyan's envoy is found in Bernard's *Isle of Man*, for which see Chapter IV.

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#### THE SECOND RECENSION OF THE PILGRIMAGE OF MAN.

The Deguileville texts used by Hill for comparison with the *Pilgrim's Progress* are, as I have said, the English verse translation made by Lydgate and the French prose published by Barthole et Petit, both of which belong to the second recension. In order to make the present study as complete as possible, I shall now give a brief outline of Lydgate's version, beginning with Pilgrim's escape from Rude Entendement. Up to this point the two recensions differ but slightly, but from this point to the end of the allegory the second recension shows many and wide divergencies from the first.

Immediately after his encounter with Rude Entendement Pilgrim meets the damsel Youth, who is described just as in the first

<sup>1</sup> Lydgate, Part I, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Offor, III, 168.

<sup>3</sup> See Hill, pp. 41-42.

recension. She promises to find some one who will tell him the way to Jerusalem. Together they come to the forks of the road, and upon the advice of Youth Pilgrim chooses the path of Idleness. He has gone but a short distance before he sees a lady standing beside a gate. Her name is Moral Virtue. She tells him to take the right-hand road which leads through her gate. While he is considering the advice of Moral Virtue, he sees a corpse stretched upon a cross and a spirit speaking to it. This is the spirit of one, Mortification of the Body, who thus punishes his body for bringing him the wrong way. Pilgrim begins to reproach his own body. Grace Dieu appears and says that he, who subdues his flesh and does penance by bearing the cross on his back, goes the right way. Pilgrim declares that he is too weak to bear the cross. He sees in the path ahead of him a wheel within a wheel, both revolving.<sup>1</sup> The smaller wheel signifies Sensuality and its four spokes are the four parts of Christ's cross. The wheels, which revolve in opposite directions, symbolize the spirit and body which travel ways contrary the one to the other. Youth tells Pilgrim he is a fool to believe all he hears; she attempts to dissuade him from his journey, and finally having persuaded him to get on her back she flies aloft with him and then lets him drop. He is attacked by Venus and Gluttony. They tie him to the tail of Venus's sow, beat him, and rob him of his money. They finally leave him in order to assault a Newcomer—a great lord. Pilgrim is now beset by Sloth, Pride riding upon the back of Flattery, Envy with Treason and Detraction upon her back, Wrath, Tribulation, and Avarice. He is delivered from Sloth, from Envy, Treason, and Detraction by the appearance of a white dove; from Avarice by Youth. Wrath is not a hag, as in the first recension, but a man.

Passing through a wood, Pilgrim meets a messenger who invites him to the home of his mistress,—a pavilion on the top of which sits a crow. This is the school of Necromancy, which none enter unless sent hither by Covetousness. Necromancy has a sword and big wings and a book called "*Mors Animæ*." She threatens to

<sup>1</sup> *Ezekiel*, I, 15-17; x, 10.

slay Pilgrim with the sword, but he is again saved by the white dove. He next meets Heresy and her father, Satan—a hunter who lays his nets across land and sea and air. From Satan he learns the meaning of the Sea of the World. Relying upon his scrip and bourdon, he attempts to swim across the sea. He sees a tree, and mistaking it for an island swims to it. Revolving round this tree is a wheel, the wheel of Fortune, and on it Pilgrim is cast. He is soon thrown from the wheel back into the sea. He is saved from drowning by the timely appearance of the white dove bringing a message from Grace Dieu.<sup>1</sup>

After this the waves begin to abate. He reaches a hill of sand and here meets Lady Astronomy-Astrology. He can see only half the body of this lady. The visible half is called Astronomy, the invisible half Astrology. Sailing to another island he meets the hag Idolatry. Entering her house he sees a carpenter or a mason in the act of kneeling and sacrificing to the image of a king placed on a chair. Upon Pilgrim's refusal to worship the idol, the carpenter threatens to chop off his head. In great fear he flees toward a marsh. On the way he meets another old hag, Sorcery. On her head she bears a basket in which is a full face called Physiognomy, while in her right hand is a cut-off hand called Chiromancy. He is seized by Sorcery with her crooked hook but manages to escape. He reaches a rock but is dismayed at the sight of an old enchantress, Scylla or Conspiracy, coming toward him, riding the waves. At the sound of her horn, Scylla's hounds attack him but are driven back by the waves. In a trance he hears a melodious voice. It proceeds from a square tower which turns like a wheel. In the wheel is a minstrel who is half man and half bird. The name of the minstrel is Worldly Gladness. By his playing he makes people forget their creator. The tower in which he lives is the dwelling-place of Satan, the great admiral of the sea. The minstrel plays his fiddle and sings, then seizing Pilgrim throws him into the sea. And now he would most certainly have drowned, had not Youth returned just in the nick of time. Youth soon abandons him for Worldly Gladness.

<sup>1</sup> This is the prayer to the Virgin, for which a blank space is left in Cotton Vitellius, C. XIII.

Grace Dieu now appears in a ship. After his bath of Repentance, Pilgrim is taken aboard the ship. He chooses the castle of Cystews. He meets Charity, Lady Lesson, Hagiography, Lady Obedience, Lady Abstinence, Chastity, Wilful Poverty, Impatient Poverty, Lady Prayer (Orison), and Latria. He is bound hand and foot by Lady Obedience for thirty-nine years. One day, while the porter is out and the king absent, Envy, Treason, Detraction, and Seylla enter, and drive out the ladies. Pilgrim escapes on a horse called Good Renown, whose four feet are: (1) Void of Defame, (2) Free-born, (3) Legitimate, (4) Sane. Detraction with her serpent-tongue causes his horse to fall, Envy wounds Pilgrim with her spears, Treason hits him on the head and breaks his arms and legs, the dogs of Seylla tear his flesh. He makes himself a wooden leg and anoints his bruises. In the morning "Old Ovid" visits him and offers to curse his injurers, but Pilgrim declares that he will put off cursing till Doomsday.<sup>1</sup> When the king returns, proclamation is made for the arrest of Pilgrim's enemies. The bells are rung and the ladies return, each to her duty, quietly and happily.

Pilgrim resolves to spend some time in traveling. He visits many countries and meets with divers religions. At one place he sees Grace Dieu in a chariot and Angels on horses. He goes to Grace Dieu's chariot and tells her his adventures. Grace conducts him through many dwellings. She brings him to a convent presided over by an old lady whose head is set on backwards, and who holds in her hand a great spoon. She is the bad Head of a convent. Her name is Abuse, the name of her spoon Gluttony. In this convent the rules of the order are disregarded, every nun does as she likes, the poor are neglected. He meets an old woman with a black raven flying round her. She is Apostasy. She often meant to turn back to the king, but the raven with his cry of "eras, eras," always stopped her. Two messengers of Death, Age and Sickness, seize Pilgrim and lay him on a bed. He is taken to the infirmary by Lady Misericorde. The Porter brings two messengers to show him the way to Jerusalem—Prayer and Alms. Death steps on

<sup>1</sup> Here follows an acrostic of his name: *Guillermus De Deguillevilla*.—Part II, pp. 621-23.



his bed. Grace Dieu appears and warns him that Death is present. As Death swings his scythe, he awakes.

It will be seen from the above outline that the two recensions show marked differences. These consist either of additional personifications or of changes in the order of the incidents occurring in the first recension. In spite of these differences the second recension stands no nearer to the *Pilgrim's Progress* than does the first, for the new matter was added with the purpose of expounding and enforcing yet more fully the doctrines of the Romanists,—doctrines which Bunyan regarded with the utmost scorn and contempt.

#### CONCLUSION.

In regard to Bunyan's possible indebtedness to Deguileville, two suggestions have been made: (1) that he was personally familiar with the *Pilgrimage of Man*; (2) that its story had been told to him by a friend.

If Bunyan were personally familiar with Deguileville's allegory, he must have become so through reading a French version, either in MS. or in printed form, or an English translation in MS., there being no printed English text so early as Bunyan's day. From what is known of his educational advantages, the extreme improbability of his being able to read any language save his own must be admitted. Several MSS. copies of English translations, in both prose and verse, of Deguileville's *Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme* were extant in Bunyan's time. Two of these MSS.—Ff. 6. 30 and Pepys No. 2258—are modernised versions, the first, probably the second also, belonging to Bunyan's own period.<sup>1</sup> Several copies of the former were in circulation during the seventeenth century. But it should be remembered that MSS. were not easily procured, especially by men so situated as Bunyan. He had just endured a twelve years' imprisonment, during which his greatest hardship had been the concern felt for his poor blind daughter lest she should starve. To one in such straits the price of a MS. would appear a princely sum.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 13-14.

The second suggestion—that Bunyan heard the story of Deguileville's poem from the lips of a friend—is of course quite possible; but, unless supported by strong resemblances between the two allegories, it remains a mere baseless conjecture. Are the resemblances sufficiently close to warrant such a supposition? That certain points of likeness do exist is undeniable. The two allegories have the same basic idea—the representation of the Christian life as a pilgrimage. Both profess to be dreams (p. 18, above). In the *Pilgrim's Progress* Christian finds a guide in Evangelist; in the *Pilgrimage of Man* Pilgrim finds a guide in Grace Dieu (p. 18). Christian falls into the Slough of Despond and is rescued by one named Help; Pilgrim, in order to reach Grace Dieu's house, must pass through the Water of Baptism, through which he is aided by an "Official" of Grace Dieu's (p. 19). The King's laborers had been attempting to mend this Slough of Despond "for above these sixteen hundred years"; Grace Dieu's house had been "masoned thirteene hundred yeares & thirty before that time" (p. 21). Christian reaches the Palace Beautiful and is there entertained by the lovely damsels—Discretion, Piety, Prudence, and Charity; Pilgrim is conducted to the house of Grace Dieu, where he meets Moses, Charity, Repentance, Dames Nature, Sapience, and Reason (pp. 22-28). Christian is furnished with armor by the damsels of the Palace Beautiful; Pilgrim is provided with armor by Grace Dieu, but finding it too heavy begs for an attendant, which is granted him in the person of Memory (pp. 29-30). Immediately after leaving the Palace Beautiful, Christian finds his way blocked by Apollyon, from whom he escapes only after a terrible fight; Pilgrim has barely left the house of Grace Dieu when he finds his passage disputed by a fierce-looking churl, Rude Entendement, from whom he escapes only by the intervention of Dame Reason (p. 33).

These constitute the most striking parallelisms between the two allegories. To them might be added a few minor resemblances such as: the vision of the Heavenly City which Christian obtains by looking through the perspective glass of the shepherds and that which Pilgrim perceives on looking through the mirror at the end of his staff (p. 29); the names of Christian's fellow-pilgrims—

Faithful and Hopeful—and the names of Pilgrim's scrip and staff—Faith and Hope (p. 29); Christian's straying into By-path Meadow and Pilgrim's choosing the path of Idleness (p. 35); the Valley of the Shadow of Death and the "horrible valley" through which Pilgrim must pass (p. 43); Christian's loss of his roll and Pilgrim's loss of his staff (p. 48); the proper names common to both allegories.

Many of these parallelisms are easily accounted for as being the natural result of the treatment of a common theme. The need of a guide, the equipment of the pilgrim with armor, the passage through dangerous valleys, the wandering from the right path, the vision of the Heavenly City—these are points that would be naturally suggested to any one by the theme itself. In none of the parallelisms cited above is the resemblance very close. The Water of Baptism and the Slough of Despond symbolize totally different ideas. So do Rude Entendement and Apollyon. Yet these are instances in which the two allegories are probably most nearly parallel. When we turn to the characters introduced in both allegories, we find the widest possible difference. The crude conceptions of Deguileville are far removed from the wonderfully life-like personifications of Bunyan. Possibly no better proof of the vagueness of the so-called resemblances of the two allegories could be offered than the fact that it is impossible to determine which of the two recensions of Deguileville's allegory Bunyan knew—although the two recensions, as we have seen, show many and wide divergencies. Was Bunyan familiar with Lydgate's verse translation or with the seventeenth century prose version? The determination of this question would tax the ingenuity of the most scrutinizing critic.

It is nothing more than just, also, to take into consideration Bunyan's own answer to the charge of having borrowed his allegory. Whatever this answer may lack in poetic value, it leaves nothing to be desired in the way of a vigorous, positive denial:

"Some say the Pilgrim's Progress is not mine,  
Insinuating as if I would shine  
In name and fame by the worth of another,  
Like some made rich by robbing of their brother.

Or that so fond I am of being sire,  
 I'll father bastards ; or, if need require,  
 I'll tell a lie in print to get applause.  
 I scorn it : John such dirt-heap never was,  
 Since God converted him. Let this suffice  
 To show why I my Pilgrim patronize.

It came from mine own heart, so to my head,  
 And thence into my fingers trickled ;  
 Then to my pen, from whence immediately  
 On paper I did dribble it daintily.

Manner and matter too was all mine own,  
 Nor was it unto any mortal known,  
 'Till I had done it. Nor did any then  
 By books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,  
 Add five words to it, or write half a line  
 Thereof : the whole, and every whit, is mine.

Also, for this thine eye is now upon,  
 The matter in this manner came from none  
 But the same heart, and head, fingers, and pen,  
 As did the other. Witness all good men ;  
 For none in all the world, without a lie,  
 Can say that this is mine, excepting I." <sup>1</sup>

This emphatic denial of any indebtedness to other writers, the extreme improbability of any personal acquaintance on Bunyan's part with the writings of Deguileville, the utter lack of any close, specific likeness between a single character or incident in the *Pilgrim's Progress* and a corresponding character or incident in the *Pilgrimage of Man*—these combined make it difficult to believe that Bunyan had ever read, or even heard, the story of Deguileville's allegory.

Such an assertion, however, is by no means incompatible with a belief that Deguileville's influence is traceable in Bunyan. After all allowances have been made, there still exists a most remarkable similarity in general scope and treatment between the *Pilgrimage of Man* and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Not only so, but it is inconceivable that a writer who attained such popularity as did Deguileville should not have wielded a wide influence, not only upon his contemporaries, but upon succeeding generations. That allegories were written subsequently to Deguileville in which the

<sup>1</sup> Ofor, III, 374.

course of human life is symbolized as a pilgrimage, is beyond all question. What could be more reasonable than the presumption that Deguileville's influence was transmitted to Bunyan through the medium of these intervening allegories? In the course of our study, these will be examined with the special purpose of determining whether or not they could have been the channel through which Deguileville's influence reached Bunyan.

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### III.

## JEAN DE CARTHENY: THE VOYAGE OF THE WANDERING KNIGHT.

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### 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Among the books that have been most frequently suggested as possible prototypes of the *Pilgrim's Progress* is the *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*.<sup>1</sup> Like Deguileville's allegories, the book was originally written in French. Its author was Jean de Cartheny, or Cartigny, of whom even less is known than of Deguileville. According to the *Biographie Universelle*,<sup>2</sup> Cartheny was a "religieux carme," a doctor of theology, who died at Cambrai in 1580. The original work, under the title of *Le Voyage du Chevalier Errant*, was first published in 1557. It was translated into Flemish, German, Welsh, and English. The English translation appeared in 1580 or '81.<sup>3</sup> The book seems to have met with great favor in England, for before the end of the seventeenth century at least five editions had appeared,—1581, 1607, 1650, 1661, 1670. The fact that an edition appeared not many years before the *Pilgrim's Progress* "strengthens the conjecture," says a writer in the *Retrospective Review* (I, 250-258), "that he [Bunyan] might have been possessed of a copy, and that to the meditations arising

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, London, 1876, p. 300; *Retrospective Review*, I, 250-258; James Montgomery, Essay prefixed to an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1828, p. x; Wm. Carew Hazlitt, *Offspring of Thought in Solitude*, London, 1844, pp. 213-220; Lowndes, *Bibl. Man.*, London, 1875, I, 380; Brunet, *Man.*, Paris, 1860, I, Col. 1605; Offor, *Works of Bunyan*, 1867, III, 27-28; Josiah Conder, Essay on the Life and Writings of Bunyan prefixed to an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, London, 1852; Southey, *Life of Bunyan*, Introduction to an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1839, p. lxxxii; W. Reader, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1843; *The Wandering Knight*, London, 1889, Preface of the Translator.

<sup>2</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, 1844, VII, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Lowndes, I, 380; Brunet, 1860, I, col. 1605; Preface to *The Wandering Knight*, London, 1889—a recent translation by A. J. H[anmer].

from the perusal of it during his imprisonment, we are indebted for the Pilgrim's Progress."

The title-page of the edition of 1607 is as follows: *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight. Shewing al the course of mans life, how apt he is to follow vanitie, and how hard it is for him to attaine to Vertue.* Devised by John Carthenie, a Frenchman: and translated out of French into English, by W. G.<sup>1</sup> of Southampton, merchant. A worke worthie of reading, and dedicated to the right Worshipful, Sir Frances Drake, Knight. London, Printed by Thomas Este; 1607.

## 2. OUTLINE OF THE ALLEGORY.

The Wandering Knight, having passed his youth in folly and lasciviousness, determines to make a voyage in search of true felicity. There lives with him a damsel whose name is Folly. She promises to be his guide. Folly is acquainted with an armorer named Evil-Will, who at her request makes for the knight a shirt of Lasciviousness, a doublet of lewd Desires, hosen of Vain Pleasures, armor of Ignorance, a corslet of Inconstancy, vambraces of Arrogancy, gauntlets of Idleness, a gorget of Licorinousness, a helmet of Lightness, a buckler of Shamelessness, a cap of Vain Glory, a girdle of Intemperance, a sword of Rebellion, and a lance named Hope of Long Life. Pride then provides him with a galloping horse called Temerity or Rashness.

One fine morning Dame Folly accompanied by Evil-Will comes, and together they encase the knight in the armor which the latter had made. Folly apparels herself in a cloak of feathers, and mounting upon a jennet opens her feathers and wings to the wind, and away she flies, followed by the Wandering Knight upon his horse. Before traveling very far they come to a point where they find two ways. "One lay on the left hand, was fair, broad and entring into a goodly green meadow; the other on the right hand, which was narrow, rocky, and full of mountains." The knight, greatly perplexed as to which road to take, consults Folly who

<sup>1</sup> William Goodyear.

tells him that the way on the left hand is "best and fairest." Just then he sees two ladies approaching. One of the ladies, who rides upon a white horse, wears a gown of costly colors, bravely embroidered with needle-work. She is very beautiful. She has a neat body, a sweet countenance, a modest gesture. She is not sour and grim, but lovely and amiable. The other Lady rides upon a rat-colored horse. She has on a colored gown garnished with gold, and about her neck is a chain of gold to which are attached rich jewels. Her face though beautiful appears to be painted; her looks are wanton and inconstant, and she rolls her eyes in every direction. Asked by the knight which road he should take, she replies: "My son, if thou wilt follow me, I will bring thee a short and pleasant way thorow a green meadow; be not doubtful, for I will lodge thee this night in the Palace of Felicity." She is the Empress of the Palace of Worldly Pleasures, and her true name, she declares, is Felicity, though her enemies spitefully nickname her "Malice, Vanity, Vice, and Voluptuousness."

The knight now inquires of the other lady her name. "I am not," she declares, "the vile, villainous, vain, mischievous, subtil, deceitful, and lying Lady Voluptuousness; but I am the assured and safe way that leadeth to perfect Felicity. And though I am narrow and painful to pass, yet if thou wilt follow me, I will make thee merry and guide thee into the very way which God hath ordained to lead unto true blessedness. . . . I am commonly called Felicity, Wisdom, and Virtue."

Folly urges him to take the path of Voluptuousness, for if he takes the path of Virtue he must undergo "cold, heat, hunger, thirst, travell, pain, and weariness." The way between the two, she declares, is but short, and, if he does not like his entertainment, he can easily climb over the mountains and reach the way on the right hand. Thus urged the knight follows the path of Voluptuousness.

They soon come within sight of the Palace and are met by a legion of ladies pompously appareled, among whom are: "Lust, Prodigality, Leachery, Wantonness, Carelessness, Bravery, Lasciviousness, Ambition, Drunkenness, Licourishness, and such like."

The next morning after breakfasting with Lady Voluptuousness, the knight has the cap of Curiosity placed upon his head and is then shown through the Palace. He visits the treasure house kept by Lady Fortune, the gallery of Pomp, the perfuming house kept by Lady Lasciviousness, the vaults of Dame Drunkenness, the kitchen of Licorinousness, and the temple of Venus. By the side of Lady Venus sits a blind boy with a bow and arrow who shoots and strikes the heart of the Wandering Knight.

On the walls of the Palace of Felicity are seven towers. Each tower has its owner. In the first lodges Pride, attended by Arrogancy, Presumption, Wrath, Contempt, Heresy, Hypocrisy, Disobedience, Vain-glory, Ambition, &c. ; in the second Envy, attended by Banqueting, Treason, Disdain and others ; in the third Wrath, attended by Indignation, Blasphemy, Contention, Murder, &c. ; in the fourth Covetousness, attended by Usury, Simony, Fraud, Perjury, Deceit, Extortion, Oppression, and the Devil ; in the fifth Leachery, attended by Fornication, Adultery, Sacrilege, Incest, Rape ; in the sixth Gluttony, attended by Excess, Foolish Mirth, Vain Babbling, Devouring, &c. ; in the seventh Sloth, in whose tower are fifteen several lodges such as Lasciviousness, Drowsiness, Carelessness, Dastardliness, &c.

That night he lies with Dame Venus. Six days he spends in the Palace, transgressing God's commandments and leading a beastly life. On the morning of the seventh day Lady Voluptuousness and the other ladies entertain the knight with a hunt. In the midst of the chase he stops to breathe his horse. Turning his eyes toward the Palace of Worldly Felicity, he is astonished to see it sink suddenly into the earth. He discovers, too, that he himself is stuck fast in the mire. He prays earnestly for help. "As I was thus praying, with a willing mind, shedding tears, striking my breast, conceiving sorrow for my sins, suddenly I saw a Lady descending down from heaven, setting herself before me, fast by the Bog where I stuck fast. This lady was of a marvelous majesty, and wonderful courteous ; she appeared to me in a garment of white satten, a cloak of blew damask, imbroydered with gold and pearls. Her face shined like the sun." This lady is God's Grace, the mother of Virtue. She reproaches the knight



for following the path of Voluptuousness, whereupon he bitterly repents, begging her to help him "out of this beastly bog of filthie infection." His deliverance he thus describes: "God's Grace hearing this my lamentation, of her mercy stretched forth a Golden Rod, and commanded me to lay my hands upon it, which, when I did, I rose from my saddle and so was out of the Bog, where I left Temerity my horse and Folly my Governess to fish for frogs."

After his rescue from the bog, the knight is first conducted by God's Grace to where the Palace of Worldly Felicity formerly stood. Instead of the Palace he finds a black dungeon, boiling with fire, from which pour a vapor and a stinking smoke of burning brimstone. This is a picture of hell. He is then carried in the arms of God's Grace to the school of Repentance, which was built upon a high hill and environed with a moat called Humility. He is there met by Lady Repentance with her two waiting-maids "Sorrow for sin" and "Confession of sin." The only way, Repentance declares, by which he may enter her school is the narrow hole through which she herself has come.<sup>1</sup> With God's Grace pulling him by the head and Repentance shoving him by the feet, the knight finally gets through the hole—but minus his shirt of Lasciviousness. He is newly appareled by Repentance in hair and sack-cloth. "And then," continues the knight, "God's Grace appeared unto me with two women and a man who was a preacher. Now one of the women held in her right hand a sharp pricking iron rod (called the gnawing of the Conscience); in her left hand she had a red book whereat I was afraid. . . . The other woman was courteous and mild and gentle, holding in her right hand a book of gold. . . . She was called Remembrance. Conscience opened the red book which when I perceived and saw the words written with blood, declaring all my offences, . . . I was amazed and became suddenly speechless." Conscience pricks him with her iron rod, Remembrance reads from her book of the goodness of God and his promises to repentant sinners, while the preacher, whose name is Understanding, preaches a sermon on the history of Mary Magdalene.

<sup>1</sup>This narrow hole represents the strait gate.



After receiving the holy communion the knight is taken to the Palace of Virtue. In this Palace there dwell in seven fair towers of alabaster Faith, Hope, Charity, Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance.<sup>1</sup> Faith from her tower shows him "a mervailous sumptuous city" situated on a high hill. This, she tells him, is the City of Heaven in which are to be found true blessedness and perfect felicity. He is taught by Good Understanding how to keep Perseverance, who has been given him by God's Grace, and also to humble himself before God each day by repeating the creed, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer.

### 3. DISCUSSION.

Two questions call for an answer: (1) Was Bunyan familiar with Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*?; (2) Was Cartheny familiar with Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*? In our endeavor to answer these the following summary of parallelisms between Deguileville, Cartheny, and Bunyan may prove helpful.

| DEGUILEVILLE.                                                        | CARTHENY.                                                                                                                          | BUNYAN.                                                                             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Pilgrim makes a pilgrimage to the city of Jerusalem.              | 1. The Knight makes a pilgrimage in search of true felicity, which at last he discovers is to be found only in the City of Heaven. | 1. Christian makes a pilgrimage to the City of Jerusalem.                           |
| 2.                                                                   | 2. The Knight is persuaded by Folly to visit the Palace of Worldly Felicity.                                                       | 2. Christian is persuaded by Mr. Worldly Wiseman to seek the house of Mr. Legality. |
| 3. Pilgrim is armed by Grace Dieu.                                   | 3. The Knight is armed by Folly.                                                                                                   | 3. Christian is armed by the inmates of the Palace Beautiful.                       |
| 4. Pilgrim comes to the paths of Occupation and Idleness. He chooses | 4. The Knight comes to the paths of Virtue and Voluptuousness. He                                                                  | 4. (a) Christian strays into By-path Meadow. (b) Christian and Faithful             |

<sup>1</sup>End of Part II. The third part contains very little allegory, being mainly a discussion of these several Christian virtues.

| DEGUILEVILLE.                                                                                                                                                                                                 | CARTHENY.                                                                                                                                                                                     | BUNYAN.                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| the path of Idleness.                                                                                                                                                                                         | chooses the path of Voluptuousness.                                                                                                                                                           | are led astray by Flatterer.<br>[Hardly a parallel to the "dividing of the ways" in Deguileville and Cartheny.]                                                                          |
| 5. After taking the path of Idleness, Pilgrim encounters: Sloth, Pride riding on the neck of Flattery, Envy with her two daughters Treason and Detraction upon her back, Wrath, Avarice, Gluttony, and Venus. | 5. After taking the path of Voluptuousness, the Knight comes to the Palace of Worldly Felicity. Here he sees the seven towers of Pride, Envy, Wrath, Covetousness, Leachery, Gluttony, Sloth. | 5.                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 6. Pilgrim passes through the Water of Baptism.                                                                                                                                                               | 6. The Knight is caught in "a beastlie bog of filthie infection."                                                                                                                             | 6. Christian and Pliable fall into a "bog"—the Slough of Despond.                                                                                                                        |
| 7. Pilgrim, in trying to pass through the Water of Baptism, is helped by an 'Official' of Grace Dieu's. Grace Dieu is his guide throughout the pilgrimage.                                                    | 7. The Knight is rescued from the miry bog by God's Grace. God's Grace from this time on is his guide.                                                                                        | 7. Christian, in trying to get out of the slough, is aided by one Help. Evangelist is his guide throughout the pilgrimage.                                                               |
| 8.                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 8. The Knight, carried by God's Grace to where the Palace of Worldly Felicity formerly stood, sees "a picture of hell."                                                                       | 8. (a) In the Valley of the Shadow of Death Christian perceives "the mouth of hell to be." (b) Christian and Hopeful are given a glimpse of hell by the shepherds of the Delectable Mts. |
| 9. Pilgrim receives the bath of Repentance.                                                                                                                                                                   | 9. The Knight is carried to the School of Repentance.                                                                                                                                         | 9. Christiana enjoys the bath of Sanctification.                                                                                                                                         |
| 10. Wilful Poverty in the Ship of Religion sings: "I am all naked y <sup>e</sup> straite gate to passe, I have repented, & not as I was. Lordings come quickly,                                               | 10. In order to enter the School of Repentance, the Knight must pass thro a "narrow hole"—which recalls to him the words of the Lord in the gospel of Matthew,                                | 10. Christian is directed by Evangelist to go first to the Strait-gate. When he reaches it, he is admitted by the porter, Good-will.                                                     |

## DEGUILEVILLE.

ye wicket is open,  
Ffor each wight & his  
mate y<sup>t</sup> brings a to-  
ken" (p. 224).

## CARTHENY.

"The way is straight  
that leadeth to everlast-  
ing life, and very few  
walk that way."

## BUNYAN.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>11. At the house of Grace Dieu Pilgrim sees Penitence enter, bearing in one hand a good rod, green and small, and also Charity with a book in one hand—the testament of peace.</p> | <p>11. At the School of Repentance God's Grace brings in two women : (a) Conscience, who pricks the Knight with her iron rod ; (b) Remembrance, who reads to him out of a red book which she carries.</p> | <p>11.</p>                                                                                                       |
| <p>12. Pilgrim at the house of Grace Dieu sees Nature, Sapience, Repentance, Charity, Moses.</p>                                                                                      | <p>12. The Knight is taken to the Palace of Virtue, where were seven fair towers in which dwelt Faith, Hope, Charity, Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance.</p>                                         | <p>12. Christian is entertained at the Palace Beautiful by Prudence, Piety, Charity, and Discretion.</p>         |
| <p>13. Pilgrim, by looking through one of the "pommelles" of his staff, sees the Holy City.</p>                                                                                       | <p>13. The Knight is shown the City of Heaven from the tower of Faith.</p>                                                                                                                                | <p>13. Christian, by looking through the perspective glass of the shepherds, catches sight of the Holy City.</p> |

From this summary it will be seen that there are only two cases of parallelism between Cartheny and Bunyan to which nothing in Deguileville corresponds : (1) the visit of the Knight to the Palace of Worldly Felicity and Christian's turning aside to the house of Mr. Legality ; (2) the Knight's vision of hell and Christian's vision of hell. The first of these is really not a case of parallelism for the ideas symbolized are entirely different, while the second may well be the merest coincidence.

There are also two cases of parallelism between Deguileville and Cartheny to which nothing in Bunyan corresponds : (1) both Pilgrim and the Knight meet with the seven deadly sins ; (2) Pilgrim's description of Penitence and Charity and the Knight's description of Conscience and Remembrance. In both of these the resemblance is strikingly close—especially in the latter.

In the cases of parallelism between all three allegories, Bunyan's Slough of Despond and Cartheny's "filthy bog of infection" have a closer kinship with each other than either has with Deguileville's Water of Baptism. Cartheny and Bunyan also make more of the "strait gate" than does Deguileville. On the other hand Cartheny's School of Repentance is more nearly parallel with Deguileville's Bath of Repentance than either is with Bunyan's Bath of Sanctification, while his description of the paths of Virtue and Voluptuousness is almost an exact counterpart of Deguileville's description of the paths of Occupation and Idleness. The guide of Cartheny's Knight is *God's Grace*, of Deguileville's Pilgrim *Grace Dieu*.

Evidently the resemblances between the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Voyage of the Wandering Knight* are much more general than the resemblances between the *Voyage of the Wandering Knight* and the *Pilgrimage of Man*. The difference is sufficient, I think, to warrant the conclusion that, while Bunyan does not show distinct traces of Cartheny's influence, Cartheny did owe much to Deguileville. Cartheny's indebtedness to Deguileville seems still more probable when we remember that before the middle of the sixteenth century Deguileville's allegories had become so widely known in France both in MS. and in printed text that Cartheny, who like Deguileville was a Frenchman, could hardly have failed to be familiar with them.

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## IV.

### RICHARD BERNARD : THE ISLE OF MAN.

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#### 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The two allegories—the *Pilgrimage of Man* and the *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*—were, as we have seen, originally written in French. The allegory which we shall now consider was the work of an Englishman. Richard Bernard, the author of the *Isle of Man or the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin*, was born in 1567. He attended Christ's College, Cambridge, receiving the degree of M. A. in 1598. The same year he took charge of the church at Epworth. Three years later he was made vicar of Worksop, Nottinghamshire. His withdrawal from the Separatists, with whom he had been at one time a sympathizer, involved him in many bitter controversies. "He was, however, a Puritan in doctrine and a non-conformist in well-nigh everything they objected to." In 1613, Bernard became rector of Batcombe in Somersetshire. During the remaining years of his life he wrote a large number of books on various subjects. He died in 1641.<sup>1</sup>

The *Isle of Man*<sup>2</sup> was written, according to the testimony of the author himself, about the beginning of the year 1627. In the "Apology" prefixed to the fourth edition, he says "for though from his first birth in the world it be scarce half a year, yet he is grown a little bigger ; but I think him to become to his full stature. . . . I pray you now this fourth time accept him and use him."

<sup>1</sup> *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, IV, 386-387.

<sup>2</sup> The title-page of the fourth edition is as follows : The Isle of Man ; or, The Legall Proceeding in Man-shire against Sinne. Wherein by way of a continued Allegorie, the Chiefe Malefactors disturbing both church and commonwealth, are detected and attached ; with their Arraignment, and Judicicall triall, according to the Lawes of England. The spiritual use thereof, with an Apologie for the manner of handling, most necessary to be first read, for direction in the right use of the Allegory thorowout, is added in the end. By R. B. Rector of Batcombe, Somers. The fourth edition much enlarged. London. Printed for Edward Blackmore, at the great South doore of Pauls, 1627.



This is signed "R. B. May 28, 1627." No further alterations or additions were made apparently, for the fourteenth edition, printed in 1668, agrees precisely with the fourth.<sup>1</sup>

The book was remarkably popular.<sup>2</sup> According to Jarman, the editor of the edition published in 1851, there had appeared before the end of 1627 no fewer than six editions. Ten years before the publication of the first edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Bernard's little book had reached its fourteenth edition; one year before the publication of the *Holy War*, its sixteenth edition. There is nothing at all improbable, therefore, in the conjecture that a copy may have fallen into the hands of Bunyan.

Most of those who are familiar with the *Isle of Man* believe that Bunyan was indebted to it—especially for some of the ideas contained in the *Holy War*. James Montgomery declares: "It is very doubtful whether he [Bunyan] ever met with the Voyage of the Wandering Knight, but it may reasonably be assumed that our Author was familiar with Bernard's ingenious allegory."<sup>3</sup> Toplady thinks that it "in all probability suggested to Mr. John Bunyan the first idea of his *Pilgrim's Progress* and of his *Holy War*."<sup>4</sup> Dr. Adam Clarke writes in his journal: "A thought strikes me; John Bunyan seems to have borrowed his *Pilgrim's Progress* from Bernard's *Isle of Man*; Bernard his *Isle of Man* from Fletcher's *Purple Island*; Fletcher took his plan from Spenser's *Faëry Queen*; Spenser his *Faëry Queen* from Gawin Douglas' *King Hart* and Douglas his plan from the old *Mysteries and Moralities* which prevailed in his time."<sup>5</sup> The *Dictionary of National Biography* says "it dimly preluded the *Pilgrim's Progress*."<sup>6</sup> Southey, on the other hand, speaks more confidently. "No one," he declares, "who reads this little book can doubt that

<sup>1</sup> In the 14th edition the Author's Apology, which just as in the 4th edition is signed "R. B. May 28, 1627," has, instead of the words "scarce half a year," the words "near a year."

<sup>2</sup> Lowndes, *Bibl. Manual*, London, 1875, I, 163.

<sup>3</sup> James Montgomery, *Essay*, 1828, p. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Gospel Magazine*, 1776, p. 478.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Dr. Adam Clarke*, II, 290. See also the *Pilgrim's Progress with Life of the Author and Postscript by Dr. Adam Clarke, LL. D.*, London, 1861.

<sup>6</sup> *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, IV, 387.

it had a considerable effect upon the style of Bunyan's invention.<sup>1</sup> Todd goes even further than Southey: "To this work I am of opinion we may attribute John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and also Benjamin Keach's *Travels of True Godliness* and his *Progress of Sin*."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Brown is more guarded in the expression of his opinion: while Fletcher's *Purple Island* and Bernard's *Isle of Man* "may not have been without some points of suggestiveness for the writer of the *Holy War*, this latter work is yet a much wider conception, is more ably sustained, and bears unmistakable signs of its writer's unrivalled genius and power."<sup>3</sup>

From the widely prevalent belief that Bunyan was indebted, more or less, to Bernard's *Isle of Man*, Ofor dissents in his characteristically dogmatic fashion: "There is not the slightest similarity between this and the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the only resemblance it bears to the *Holy War*, is making the senses the means of communication with the heart or soul—an idea usual and universal in every age, the use of which cannot subject a writer to the charge of plagiarism."<sup>4</sup>

The book is dedicated "To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Thynne Knt. and his religious Lady The Lady Catharine Thynne." Following the dedication are the "author's earnest requests" to the reader and "The Apology." The Apology which Bunyan prefixed to the *Pilgrim's Progress* is very much after the manner of Bernard's Apology, as may be seen from the following parallelisms:

1. Bernard answers the objections of those who are too "grave" to enjoy a book that may cause laughter; Bunyan attempts to meet the objection that his book wants "solidity."

#### ISLE OF MAN.

"These things [table of contents] are the substance of all this book couched within the allegorical narration: which

#### PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

"Solidity, indeed, becomes the pen Of him that writeth things divine to men:

<sup>1</sup> Southey, *Select Biographies, Cromwell and Bunyan*, London, 1844, p. 171. Murray Library.

<sup>2</sup> Henry J. Todd, *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, London, 1805, II, pp. cxxiv-cxxv.

<sup>3</sup> John Brown, *The Holy War*, edited with Introduction and Notes, London, 1887, Introduction, p. viii. Cf. *Life of Bunyan*, 1885, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Ofor, III, 34.

ISLE OF MAN.

is no dreaming dotage, no fantastic toy,  
no ridiculous conception, no old wives'  
tale told; Some have an humor to de-  
light in finding of faults. . . . Some are  
so rigidly grave that forsooth it is a miss  
to read therein they may have occasion  
offered any way to laugh or smile: when  
they may remember that even Abraham  
the gray-headed, old, aged, and grave  
father once laughed. . . . If any dislike  
this little book for want of matter, let  
him be pleased to consider these one and  
forty particular instructions before set  
down. . . . If two or three passages  
carry not that gravity in show, as some  
perhaps could wish they did, let these  
consider therein in those places the in-  
forced nature of the allegory.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

But must I needs want solidness, because  
By metaphors I speak? Were not God's  
laws,  
His gospel-laws, in olden time held  
forth  
By types, shadows, and metaphors? Yet  
loath  
Will any sober man be to find fault  
With them, lest he be found for to as-  
sault  
The highest wisdom. . . .  
Be not too forward, therefore, to con-  
clude  
That I want solidness, that I am rude:  
All things solid in show, not solid be;  
All things in parables despise not we,  
Lest things most hurtful, lightly we re-  
ceive;  
And things that good are, of our souls  
bereave.  
My dark and cloudy words they do but  
hold  
The truth, as cabinets enclose the gold.

2. Bernard points out "the true scope and right use" of his book; Bunyan shows "the profit of his book."

ISLE OF MAN.

"Besides all these things let them  
be pleased to attend to the scope of  
the Book, wherein two things are  
principally aimed at: (1) To dis-  
cover to us our miserable and wretch-  
ed estate through corruption of na-  
ture. . . . (2) To show how a man  
may come to a holy reformation,  
and so happily recover himself out  
of his natural wretched estate. . . .  
These things being the true scope  
and right use of this Book, and the  
matters therein contained so be-  
hoofull and necessary to every  
true christian, I hope no sober-  
minded man can, much less will,  
find fault with it."

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

"And now, before I do put up my pen,  
I'll show the profit of my book, and then  
Commit both thee and it unto that hand  
That pulls the strong down and makes weak  
ones stand.  
This book, it chalketh out before thine eyes  
The man that seeks the everlasting prize;  
It shows you whence he comes, whither he  
goes,  
What he leaves undone; also, what he does;  
It also shows you how he runs and runs,  
'Till he unto the gate of glory comes.  
It shows, too, who set out for life amain,  
As if the lasting crown they would attain;  
Here, also, you may see the reason why  
They lose their labour, and, like fools, do  
die."

3. Both authors cite the Scriptures in justification of their adopting the form of allegory.

## ISLE OF MAN.

"If the manner [of] laying these things down in a continued allegory, be the offense to some, I do suppose they know that Nathan did teach a David by an allegory. Esay and Ezechiel taught the Jews so too, and that our Saviour spake many parables to his hearers. . . . But the fault, if a fault, peradventure, is not simply imputed for making an allegory, but in following it so largely and for inserting (as it were interlude-wise) some things for the weightiness of the matter therein contained, not seeming grave enough as the parables of Christ and his Prophets were."

## PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

"The prophets used much by metaphors  
To set forth truth : Yea, who so considers  
Christ, his apostles too, shall plainly see,  
That truths to this day in such mantles be.

Sound words, I know, Timothy is to use  
And old wives' fables he is to refuse ;  
But yet grave Paul him nowhere did forbid  
The use of parables.

I find that Holy Writ, in many places,  
Hath semblance with this method, where the  
cases  
Do call for one thing to set forth another ;  
Use it I may, then, and yet nothing smother  
Truth's golden beams ; nay, by this method  
may  
Make it cast forth its rays, as light as day."

4. Bernard shows what effect his allegory ought to have on the Christian reader ; Bunyan describes the effect of his book upon those who read understandingly. Both caution the reader against overlooking the "spiritual sense."

## ISLE OF MAN.

"I confess the matter of this allegorical discourse to be such . . . as ought to work in every Christian Reader sorrow of heart in the deep consideration of his miseries, till he be recovered out of his wretched estate : and withal to cause a diligent endeavor in sober sadness to better his condition of living Christian-like before God ; neither of which is prevented by the manner of handling, if all would do, as some have done, first to read it after the letter and then attend to the spiritual sense, they would attain to that which in so penning it I aimed at."

## PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

"This book will make a traveller of thee,  
If by its counsel thou wilt ruled be ;  
It will direct thee to the Holy Land,  
If thou wilt its directions understand ;  
Yea, it will make the slothful active be ;  
The blind, also, delightful things to see."  
[Cf. also the following lines which are from  
"The Conclusion" to Part I of the *Pilgrim's Progress*—Offer, III, 167 :]  
"Take heed also, that thou be not extreme,  
In playing with the outside of my dream :  
Nor let my figure or similitude  
Put thee into a laughter or a feud.  
Leave this for boys and fools ; but as for thee,  
Do thou the substance of my matter see."

5. Bernard says that knowing the natures of men he was persuaded the allegory might be "as a bait to catch them"; Bunyan likens the allegory to the devices of the fisherman for catching fish or of the fowler for catching game.

ISLE OF MAN.

"I knew the natures of men in the world: I persuaded myself that the allegory would draw many to read which might be as a bait to catch them, perhaps, at unawares, and to make them to fall into a meditation at the length of the spiritual use thereof: which I well hoped that others more religiously bent, would at the first discern and make benefit of."

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

"May I not write in such a style as this?  
In such a method too, and yet not miss  
My end—thy good? Why may it not be done?"

. . . . .  
You see the ways the fisherman doth take  
To catch the fish; what engines doth he make!  
Behold! how he engageth all his wits;  
Also his snares, lines, angles, hooks, and nets.  
Yet fish there be, that neither hook nor line,  
Nor snare, nor net, nor engine can make thine:  
They must be grop'd for, and be tickled too,  
Or they will not be catch'd, whate'er you do.  
How does the fowler seek to catch his game  
By divers means! All which one cannot  
name:  
His gun, his nets, his lime-twigs, light and  
bell:  
He creeps, he goes, he stands; yea, who can  
tell  
Of all his postures? Yet, there's none of these  
Will make him master of what fowls he please.  
Yea, he must pipe and whistle, to catch this,  
Yet if he does so, that bird he will miss."

Bernard concludes his Apology in the following lively fashion:  
"Well, I have clothed this book as it is. It may be some humor took me, as once it did old Jacob, who apparelled Joseph differently from all the rest of his brethren in a party-colored coat. It may also be that I took (as Jacob did in his Joseph) more delight in this lad than in twenty other of his brethren born before him, or in a younger Benjamin brought forth soon after him.

"When I thus did apparell him I intended to send him forth to his brethren, hoping thereby to procure him the more acceptance, where he happily should come: and my expectation hath not failed, deceived altogether I am not, as was Jacob in sending his Joseph among his envious brethren. For not only hundreds,



but some thousands have welcomed him to their houses. They say they like his countenance, his habit and manner of speaking well enough, though others, too nice, be not so well-pleased therewith.

"But who can please all? Or how can any one so write or speak, as to content every man? If any mistake me, and abuse him in their too carnal apprehension, without the truly intended spiritual use, let them blame themselves, and neither me nor him: for the fault is their own, which I wish them to amend. You that like him, I pray you still accept of him, for whose sake, to further your spiritual meditation, I have sent him out with these contents, and more marginal notes. His habit is no whit altered, which he is constrained by me to wear, not only on working days, but even upon holydays and Sundays too, if he go abroad. A fitter garment I have not now for him; and if I should send out the poor lad naked, I know it would not please you. This his coat, tho' not altered in the fashion, yet is it made somewhat longer. For though from his first birth into the world it be scarce half a year, yet he is grown a little bigger. But I think him to become his full stature; so he will be but a little pigmy, to be carried abroad in any man's pocket. I pray you now this fourth time accept him and use him as I have intended for you, and you shall reap the fruit, tho' I forbid you not to be Christianly merry with him. So fare you well in all friendly well wishes. R. B. May 28, 1627."

Southey was impressed with the similarity between this passage and the verses introductory to the Second Part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and expressed the opinion that Bunyan evidently had the passage in mind when he wrote these introductory lines.<sup>1</sup> The likeness consists rather in tone and spirit than in any specific details.

## 2. OUTLINE OF THE ALLEGORY.

The great malefactor is Sin, a notable thief and robber. He robbeth God of his honor and man of God's favor; he robbeth

<sup>1</sup> Robert Southey, *Life of Bunyan*, prefixed to an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1846, p. 67.

us of our graces,—the spiritual money which we have in the purses of our heart to help us in our journey to heaven. He is a very strong thief; no human power can subdue him. Therefore he must be diligently sought out. The watchman appointed for this purpose is Godly-Jealousy, who has for his assistants Love-Good and Hate-Ill. These three are set to watch over Soul's-town, a great resort thronged day and night with travelers, many of whom lodge at the common inn, Heart. The town is very spacious and wide, having four great streets—Sense St., Thought St., Word St., and Deed St.

The watchmen keep careful watch, and when the thief is descried they make Hue and Cry after him; but Sin hath many friends. They are: (1) One Mr. Out-side, in the inside a Carnal Securitan; (2) Sir Worldly-wise, a very fool to God, a self-conceited earth worm; (3) Sir Luke-warm, a temporizing time-server, a Jack on both sides; (4) Sir Plausible Civil, a fashionable fellow, to the life of religion a stranger; (5) Master Machiaeval—all for policy, little for piety; (6) One Libertine; (7) Scrupulosity, an unsociable and a snappish fellow, one who labors to have the Hue and Cry against all reformation in christian churches as against heresy; (8) Babbling Babylonian, a bloody anti-christian adversary.

Sin has two shifts by which he attempts to escape: (1) by a show of virtue; (2) by the name of virtue put upon vices. And so Drunkenness escapes under the name of Good-Fellowship, Covetousness under the name of Good-husbandry, Filthy Ribaldry under the name of Merriment, Pride of Apparel under the name of Decency and Handsomeness. If Sin cannot escape Godly-jealousy by either of these means, he seeks help from his kindred. These are: (1) His Grand-sire Ignorance, (2) his brother Error, (3) his cousin Opinion, (4) Master Subtilty, (5) Custom, (6) a Popish fellow called Forefathers, (7) Sir Power, (8) Sir Sampler, (9) Sir Most-do, who holds it no sin to do that which almost all or the greatest part do, (10) Sir Silly, (11) Vain-Hope, who hopes to escape punishment by making God all of mercy, (12) Sir Wilful, (13) Sir Saint-like.

In spite of all these favorites of Sin, Godly-Jealousy spies him out and procures a warrant against him from the justice of the

peace. The Justice is the very Lord Chief Justice of heaven and earth, the Lord Jesus. The warrant, which is the Power of God's Word, is obtained from some of the Lord Chief Justice's secretaries, the writers of Holy Scriptures. The officer whose duty it is to attach Sin is Understanding. There are four sorts of officers who may attach felons by warrant: (1) The Deputy-Constable *i. e.* the Understanding darkened; (2) The Tithing-man *i. e.* Gross Understanding; (3) The Petty-Constable *i. e.* Understanding somewhat cleared; (4) The Head or Chief Constable *i. e.* Illuminated Understanding. The habitation of Illuminated Understanding is Regeneration. His wife is called Grace; his two sons—Will and Obedience; his three daughters—Faith, Hope, and Charity; his two servants—Humility and Self-denial; and his two maids—Temperance and Patience.

The Chief Constable proceeds to serve the warrant. In addition to his two servants, Humility and Self-denial, he calls upon his neighbor Godly-sorrow and his seven sons Care, Clearing, Indignation, Fear, Vehement Desire, Zeal, Revenge. Upon the way they are joined by a couple of busy fellows, Self-Love and Self-Conceit. Self-denial is ordered to rid them of the first, Humility to rid them of the second. They continue their way to Sin's lodging. This is a common inn, the house of one Mrs. Heart a harlot, a receptacle for all villains, whores, and thieves. Here no one is denied house-room or harbor. To cover her naughtiness as much as she may, she hath got into her house one called Old-man to become her husband, though she is really his daughter. They live in incest together and keep riot night and day. The house has five doors: the door of Hearing, of Seeing, of Tasting, of Smelling, of Feeling. With Mrs. Heart live eleven daughters, lewd strumpets and as impudent harlots as herself. These are the eleven passions of the heart—Love (of worldly and fleshly vanities), Hatred, Desire, Detestation, Vain-hope, Despair, Fear, Audacity, Joy, Sorrow, Anger. Besides these she keeps a manservant called Will, who has at his command the feet, the hands, the tongue. Mrs. Heart soon has her guests into the dining-room. The table is Instability, the table-cloth Vanity, the bread the Fitness of every sin's proper object. The salt, which seasoneth

Sin's appetite to feed itself, is Opportunity, the trenchers are strength of every man's nature to act sin, the napkins are the pretended shows of Virtue. There are three dishes of meat: Lusts of the Flesh served in the plate of Pleasure, Lusts of the Eyes served in the platter of Profit, Pride of Life served in the charger of Worldly Estimation. Their drink is the Pleasurable-ness of Sin for the present. The waiters are the eleven maids already mentioned and Will their man.

After supper Mrs. Heart provides lodging. All lie in one room, Natural Corruption. In this room lie Mistress Heart, all her maids, her man Will, and all her guests together, like wild Irish. The bed they lie upon is Impenitency, the coverings Hardness of Heart and Carnal Security.

Being now attached by the Chief Constable, they are taken to the next Justice, Well-informed Judgment. Inasmuch as Sin is not bailable, they are carried straightway to jail, which is called Subjection. The chief-jailer is Master Newman, the sheriff is True Religion, the under-sheriff Holy Resolution. Master Newman has three under-jailers, Saving Knowledge, True Holiness and Righteousness.<sup>1</sup>

The judge of the assizes is Conscience, who sits upon the bench of Impartiality, and who has as his circuit his Own Soul. The justices of the peace are Science, Prudence, Providence, Sapience; the inferiors are Weak Wit, Common Apprehension, and such like. The king's sergeant is Divine Reason, the king's attorney Quick-sightedness. Memory is clerk of the court, the Tongue the clerk of arraignment, the Manifestation of the Spirit the crier, true Repentance or Godly Sorrow the complainant. A true bill having been found against the prisoners, they are brought before the bar called the Apprehension of God's Wrath due for sin. The jury, a chosen company of excellent virtues, are Faith, Love of God, Fear of God, Charity, Sincerity, Unity, Patience, Innocency, Chastity, Equity, Verity, Contentment. The prisoners challenge them all and in their stead propose Masters Naturalist, Doubting, Opinion, Careless, Chiverel, Libertine, Laodicean, Temporizer,

<sup>1</sup> End of Part I.



Politician, Outside, Ambodexter, Neutrality. The exceptions are not admitted and the first jury remains.

Old Man, Mrs. Heart, and Wilful Will are brought to trial. The first two are convicted and sentenced. Wilful Will, because he appears penitent, has his sentence deferred. One of the witnesses to testify against him is Corporal Discipline. His testimony is that Wilful Will is a great hindrance to spiritual warfare: "Our Powder of holy affections he hath damped, the Match of the fervency of the spirit he hath put out, the small shot of Spiritual Ejaculations he so stopped as in time of need they would not go off, of the Sword of the Spirit he quite took away the edge; he brake the Helmet of Salvation, bruised the Breastplate of Righteousness, the Shield of Faith he cast away, and unloosed the Girdle of Verity; the points of all the pikes of divine threats by presumption he so brake off, as they had no force to prick the Heart."

The trial of the eleven maids is postponed in order that two great traitors and rebels may be arraigned, Covetousness and Idolatry. Covetousness pleads in his defense that his real name is Mr. Thrift, and that he has driven out a company of very unthrifths—Waste, Riot, Prodigality, Drunkenness, Gluttony, such bad men-servants as Slack and Slothful, Careless and Wasteful, Love-bed and Drowsie, such bad maid-servants as Pranker and Prattle, Wanton and Love-sick, Sleepy and Slugge, Sweet-lip and Dainty. On the other hand, he has introduced such thrifty men-servants as Care, Wary, Thrifty, Advantage and Hold-fast, Cunning and Catch, such profitable maids as Quick and Nimble, Trusty and Timely, Healthful and Chaste, Ever-doing and Silent. Covetousness is condemned "as a rotten member of the flesh to be mortified and cut off."

The jury impaneled to try Idolatry, or Papistry, are: Common Principles, Apostles' Creed, Second Commandment, Pater Noster, Holy Scriptures, Apocrypha, Counsels, Fathers, Contradiction among themselves, Absurdity of Opinion, Consent of their own men, Testimony of Martyrs. Papist makes exception to Holy Scriptures unless it be "our own translation." The exception is allowed and the trial proceeds. He is testified



against by Verity and Sir Christianity, and being found guilty is condemned to the lake of fire.

### 3. DISCUSSION.

Both in spirit and in style the *Isle of Man* strongly resembles the allegories of Bunyan. It is not without wit, its meaning is clear, while its attacks upon bigotry, shams, godlessness in whatever form, its hostility to the Papists, its attitude of liberality towards the Non-conformists—make it just the book that would have received the hearty approval of Bunyan.

Not only is the germ of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, however, not found in the *Isle of Man*, but it is not even suggested. The two allegories are based on different ideas. Familiarity with Bernard's little book, while it could not have suggested the *Pilgrim's Progress*, might have induced Bunyan to try his hand at allegory. With the possible exception of the trial of Sin and the trial of Faithful, the two have no incidents in common. In the *Isle of Man* the *trial* is the culmination of the whole story, in the *Pilgrim's Progress* it is only incidental to the central idea. A few names, such as Ignorance, Vain-hope, Presumption, are found in each. This, of course, means little, but in the formation of certain compounds the resemblance becomes somewhat significant. Sir Worldly Wise at once recalls Mr. Worldly Wiseman, while Love-good and Hate-ill might easily have suggested to Bunyan Love-lust, Hate-light, Lord Hate-good, or, in the *Holy War*, Mr. Forget-good, and Mr. Love-no-good.

Though the *Isle of Man* does not contain the germ of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, it does contain the germ of Bunyan's second great allegory, the *Holy War*. Both allegories have as their root-idea the contest for supremacy in the human soul between the forces of good and the forces of evil.<sup>1</sup> Bernard describes this

<sup>1</sup> Phineas Fletcher, in *The Purple Island*, 1633, represents the human body as an island, the bones being the foundations, the veins the brooks, &c. There seems to be nothing in common between it and Bernard's allegory. In 1610 was published a little book, entitled *Roome for a Messe of Knaves*, containing "A narration of a strange but true battle fought in the little Isle (or World) of Man." See J. Payne Collier, *Catalogue of Library at Bridgewater*, 1837, p. 157.

struggle under the symbolism of a trial, Bunyan under the symbolism of war. The scene of Bernard's allegory is Soul's town in Manshire, lying in the Isle of Man; of Bunyan's allegory, Mansoul, situated in the country of Universe. In the former allegory the place of special interest is an inn, called Heart; in the latter, a stately palace, the name of which we are told in the margin is Heart. This inn has five doors—Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling, Feeling. The five gates of Mansoul are Ear-gate, Eye-gate, Mouth-gate, Nose-gate, and Feel-gate.

The two allegories have several names in common. Wilful Will might have suggested to Bunyan Lord Will-be-Will. Mr. New-man, the jailer in the *Isle of Man*, finds a counterpart in Mr. True-man, the jailer in Mansoul. The Illuminated Understanding is the head or chief constable in the *Isle of Man*; My Lord Understanding, the Lord Mayor of Mansoul. In the *Isle of Man* Conscience is judge of the assizes; in the *Holy War* Conscience is the recorder of Mansoul. In the *Isle of Man* two pestilent fellows—Self-love and Self-conceit—join in the search for sin. In the *Holy War* are found two characters of the same name: Mr. Self Conceit,<sup>1</sup> one of the men brought by Diabolus to Mansoul; Mr. Self-love, the son of Mr. Evil-questioning and his wife, No-hope.

Bunyan also introduces the trial-motive in the *Holy War*, but, just as in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the trial-feature is merely incidental. The trial of Sin may have suggested the trial of the Diabolonians after the taking of Mansoul by Immanuel. Such a supposition is confirmed:

(1) By the similarity in the names of the jury. Among the jurymen chosen to try Sin are Faith, Love-of-God, Fear-of-God; among those chosen to try the Diabolonians are Mr. Belief, Mr. Love-God, Mr. Zeal-for-God.

(2) By the fact that the prisoners in both allegories plead the same excuse. In the *Isle of Man* Covetousness declares that his real name is Mr. Thrift; in the *Holy War* Mr. False-peace declares that his real name is Peace,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pitiless that his name

<sup>1</sup> This name also occurs in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. See Offor, III, 119.

<sup>2</sup> Offor, III, 312.

is Mr. Cheer-up,<sup>1</sup> Evil-questioning that his name is Honest-inquiring.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Isle of Man* one of the shifts of Sin is to call vices by the name of virtues. "And so," says Bernard, "Drunkenness escapeth under the name of Good-Fellowship, Covetousness under the name of Good-husbandry, Filthy Ribauldry under the name of Merriment, Pride of Apparel under the name of Decency and Handsomeness." A remarkably similar passage occurs in the *Holy War*: "But these Diabolonians love to counterfeit their names; Mr. Covetousness covers himself with the name of Good-husbandry, or the like; Mr. Pride can, when need is, call himself Mr. Neat, Mr. Handsome, or the like, and so of all the rest of them."<sup>3</sup>

That Bunyan was familiar with Bernard's allegory, and that he was influenced by it, possibly in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, certainly in the *Holy War*, scarcely admits of doubt. The *Isle of Man* had reached its fourteenth edition before the *Pilgrim's Progress* was published, its sixteenth edition before the publication of the *Holy War*. It would be strange if Bunyan had not known a book which attained such popularity. When to this fact are added the many likenesses between the *Isle of Man* and the *Holy War*, the indebtedness of Bunyan to Bernard becomes almost a certainty.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 314. Cf. p. 333.

## V.

### (A) BOLSWERT: DUFYKENS ENDE WILLEM- MYNKENS PELGRIMAGIE.

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Many foolish assertions have been made in regard to Bunyan's indebtedness to the works of others, but possibly the most absurd is the following story which was published in the public journals about 1825: "The friends of John Bunyan will be much surprised to hear that he is not the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but the mere translator. It is, however, an act of plagiarism to publish it in such a way as to mislead his readers; but it is never too late to call things by their right names. The truth is, that the work was even published in French, Spanish, and Dutch, besides other languages, before John Bunyan saw it, and we have ourselves seen a copy in the Dutch language, with numerous plates, printed long previous to Bunyan's time."<sup>1</sup>

The work here alluded to was an allegory written by the Flemish engraver, Boetius A. Bolswert, and entitled *Dufykens ende Willemynkens Pelgrimage tot haren beminden binnen Jerusalem*. During the first half of the seventeenth century the book ran through several editions—1625, 1627, 1632, 1636, 1641. It was translated into French and frequently printed—1636, 1684, 1734, 1819. No English translation, it seems, has ever been made.<sup>2</sup>

The allegory describes the journey of two sisters, Dovekin and Willemynken—called in the French version Colombelle and Volontairette—to their Beloved in Jerusalem. They first wash

<sup>1</sup> Jas. Montgomery, *Essay*, 1828, pp. xxviii ff.; Southey, *Select Biographies*, *Cromwell and Bunyan*, London, 1844; Offor, III, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Brunet, *Man.*, I, col. 1079.

in a river which has its source in Rome and which flows on to Jerusalem. This river marks the route of their journey. They gather flowers to give to their Beloved. Willemynken carelessly loses hers but finds them again. At length they reach a village at which a fair is in progress. Willemynken, who will not listen to the warnings of the prudent Dovekin, stops to look at some mountebanks and becomes infested with vermin. Because of her imprudence and obstinacy she is always in trouble. She takes a by-path and falls into a ditch. Her heedlessness ends in her destruction. In spite of her sister's entreaties, she climbs to a high and dangerous point, and is blown thence by a sudden gust of wind into a deep pit, where she is left to her own fate. Dovekin continues her journey, reaches the city of Jerusalem, and is espoused to her Beloved.<sup>1</sup>

No one who had ever read Bolswert's book could for a moment suppose that Bunyan was indebted to it. And yet we find Dunlop, in his *History of Fiction*,<sup>2</sup> saying that if Bunyan has borrowed from any source "the notion of a journey through the perils and temptations of life to a place of religious rest," it was most probably from this allegory. So wide is the distance between the two, that Southey at the close of his outline of Bolswert's *Pilgrimage* contemptuously exclaims, "And this is the book from which Bunyan is said to have stolen the Pilgrim's Progress!"

<sup>1</sup> An outline is given by Southey in his *Life of Bunyan*, prefixed to an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1846, pp. 69 ff. Cf. Joseph Cottle, *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey*, London, 1847, pp. 249-252.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Fiction*, London, 1876, p. 300. Cf. Philip's *Life of Bunyan*, London, 1839, pp. 561-562.



## (B) SIMON PATRICK : THE PARABLE OF THE PILGRIM.

## 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

With the exception of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man* and Bernard's *Isle of Man* no book has been more frequently suggested as a source of the *Pilgrim's Progress* than Simon Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*.<sup>1</sup>

Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely, was a contemporary of Bunyan's. He was born in Lincolnshire in 1626, educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, and in 1658 appointed Vicar of Battersea. In 1662 he was presented to the rectory of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. In 1691 he was transferred to Ely, where he remained until his death in 1707.<sup>2</sup> The *Parable of the Pilgrim* was written, according to the author's own testimony, in 1663.<sup>3</sup> The *Dic. Nat. Biog.* says that it was published the following year. The earliest edition mentioned by Lowndes and the earliest copy I have seen is dated 1665. That the book enjoyed great popularity is evident from the frequency with which it was printed. Editions appeared in 1665, 1667, 1668, 1670, 1673, 1678, 1687.

Patrick leaves us in no doubt as to the source of his inspiration. In the dedication he says that he was induced to undertake the work from reading Baker's *Sancta Sophia*, which contained a short discourse entitled *The Parable of the Pilgrim*.<sup>4</sup> This dedication, addressed to a friend, bears such close resemblance to Bernard's

<sup>1</sup> James Montgomery, Essay, p. xviii ; *Gospel Magazine*, 1776, p. 478 ; *Pilgrim's Progress*, T. Heptinstall, London, 1796, p. 405 ; *Pilgrim's Progress*, J. Rivington & Others, London, 1826, p. xi ; J. M. Wilson, *Pilgrim's Progress with Life*, London, 1852, pp. xxxvi-xl ; Josiah Conder, *Pilgrim's Progress with Life*, Philadelphia, 1882 ; Offor, III, 41 ; *Quarterly Review*, XLIII ; W. Reader, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1843 ; *Academy*, VIII, 63 ; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XLIV, 46 ; John Brown, *John Bunyan*, 1885, p. 287 ; Robert Philip, *Life of Bunyan*, London, 1839, p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XLIV, 45-47.

<sup>3</sup> Patrick's *Autobiography*, 1839, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> The ultimate source of Patrick's allegory is Hylton's *Scala Perfectionis*.

"Apology," that it is hardly conceivable that its author was not familiar with the earlier allegory. "As to the dress of it," writes Patrick, "I know that you will not expect this Pilgrim should come to you in fine Apparel and like some Gallant; but rather judge it more decent that he is attired plainly according to the quality and condition of his person and profession. This made me the more careless in what clothing I set him out, and to take such trimming as came next to hand."

The dedication is followed by "An Advertisement," and here again we are strongly reminded of Bernard's "Apology," and also of Bunyan's verses introductory to the Second Part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Patrick declares that his Pilgrim was first written "with a respect to the necessities of a particular person," but that he had met with one who would no longer permit him to remain in such privacy. "In obedience therefore to the commands he received, he comes now abroad, and offers his assistance to any that shall think good to make use of it: being grown also bigger since he went thither, and so of better ability to serve more than one. . . . And now it would argue great unexperience of the world to expect, that this Pilgrim should not meet with some, whose curiosity he cannot humour; and others whose sowreness nothing can please. But he that sends him abroad will be abundantly satisfied if he become useful to any well-disposed Soul, who shall have a mind to bear him company to *Jerusalem*. And if he chance to meet with any that shall only study to cavill, and pick a quarrell with him; He is prepared before hand to take no notice at all of it, nor to be more troubled at their incivility; than a devout Hermite is at the ugly faces, which the Creatures who something resemble men make at him, as he is walking through the desarts."

Bunyan's Pilgrim is similarly instructed as to the conduct to be pursued toward hostile critics:

OBJECTION IV.

"But some love not the method of your first;  
Romance they count it, throw't away as dust,  
If I should meet with such, what should I say?  
Must I slight them as they slight me, or nay?"

## ANSWER.

“ My Christiana, if with such thou meet,  
 By all means, in all loving-wise, them greet ;  
 Render them not reviling for revile ;  
 But if they frown, I prithee on them smile ;  
 Perhaps 'tis nature, or some ill report,  
 Has made them thus despise, or thus retort.”<sup>1</sup>

2. OUTLINE OF THE ALLEGORY.<sup>2</sup>

In the 527 pages of the *Parable of the Pilgrim* there is comparatively little allegory. A man, who calls himself Philotheus but is called by others Theophilus, “being weary of the Country where he dwelt, and finding no satisfaction in any thing that he enjoyed, took a resolution to shift his seat, and to seek for that, of which he felt as great a desire as he did a want, in some other Land” (p. 2). He visited many strange countries, underwent many dangers, until finally utterly exhausted in body and in spirit he sat down upon the ground in a state of great despondency. He fancied an angel flew by him and touched him with his wing, and straightway he remembered a place called Jerusalem, its beauties and its glories, and a strong desire to go to this city filled his soul. Many weary hours he spent in trying to find the best way to Jerusalem, being perplexed by the multiplicity of ways which he was told to take. At last he heard of a safe guide, whom he sought and begged to direct him. He was warned by the guide “that the way is both long, and also full of many and great difficulties ; and that there are many waies also which will seem to you to lead streight to it, and which many men will point you unto as the next rode ; which if you should take, will lead you into great danger, and not only carry you a great deal about, but perchance conduct you to the quite contrary place, and end in your utter undoing” (p. 19).

The following 250 pages are taken up with the guide's directions to the Pilgrim. He is instructed how to form a strong reso-

<sup>1</sup> *Offor*, III, 170.

<sup>2</sup> The copy before me is dated 1668.

lution; he is advised to procure as his companions—Humility and Charity; he listens to long descriptions of Jerusalem and the manner of life there, of Jesus, of the true way to the Heavenly City; he is warned against the enemies that will assault his resolution—his *Fleshly Desires and Worldly Fears*.

Having thanked the guide for his instructions, the Pilgrim set out upon his journey. The air was fresh and balmy, the birds sang joyously, his heart was filled with gladness. But before many weeks had passed the ways became rugged and the country more barren. Some of his old companions whom he met attempted to turn him back, saying that the road was beset with thieves and with many difficulties. His resolution, however, continued firm. His joy left him; he became seriously ill. Just as he was about to despair of life, he received a comforting letter from his "beloved Father" [the guide], which resulted in his complete restoration to health. At his urgent request, the guide consented to become his constant companion. They discoursed upon the necessity of discretion, temperance, humility, charity. Upon reaching the top of a high hill, they saw a wonderful spectacle. Other pilgrims were there who had placed themselves in strange postures, some upon their knees with eyes elevated toward the skies, some upon tip-toe, others stretching out their arms as though they were wings. The two travelers, thinking to discover what had attracted the gaze of the other pilgrims, looked in the same direction. "And they had not done so very long, but by the advantage of this Mountain, and the clearness of the air, and the steadiness of their eyes, and the quiet and silence wherein they all were; they had a very fair prospect of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*" (pp. 454-5).

### 3. DISCUSSION.

From this outline it is seen that there are almost no incidents in Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim* and that the amount of allegorical matter is extremely slight. The greater part of the book consists of long, tedious discussions of a purely didactic character. Except for the fact that the *Parable of the Pilgrim* does not profess to be the account of a dream, the framework is the same as

that of the *Pilgrimage of Man* and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. In each of the three allegories a pilgrim sets out for the new Jerusalem, finds a guide, undergoes many difficulties, catches a vision of the Heavenly City. The effort of former companions to dissuade Philotheus from his journey finds a parallel in Christian's experience with Mistrust and Timorous,<sup>1</sup> while the letter which he receives during his illness from his "beloved Father" recalls the letter written to Pilgrim by Grace Dieu.<sup>2</sup> But the resemblances are too few and too general to justify the belief that Bunyan was directly indebted to Patrick, or that Patrick owed anything directly to Deguileville. All that can safely be said is, that the same idea which underlies the *Pilgrimage of Man* and the *Pilgrim's Progress* underlies the *Parable of the Pilgrim*, and that it is given the same general setting as in these two allegories.

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<sup>1</sup> Oflor, III, 105.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 48, note 2.



## VI.

### OTHER BOOKS SUGGESTIVE OF BUNYAN.

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The ultimate source of all allegories representing the Christian life as a pilgrimage is doubtless to be found in the eleventh Chapter of *Hebrews*. But nowhere do the Scriptures develop the idea in a sustained allegory. The first attempt at anything like a detailed symbolic representation of "the changes and vicissitudes of life" is the well-known *Tablet of Cebes*, supposed to have been written about the fifth century B. C. by Cebes, the friend and disciple of Socrates.

The *Tablet* is in the form of a dialogue explanatory of an allegorical picture hung upon the walls of a temple. Three concentric circles, separated by walls and communicating through gates, represent life. At the outer circle stands a great throng seeking to enter, to whom Genius, an old man, holds out a chart of directions. At the gate sits a woman named Deceit who gives to all that enter a drink called Ignorance and Error. Fortune, blind, deaf, and raving mad, stands within the outer circle and tosses her gifts promiscuously among the crowd. Behind her stand four other women—Incontinence, Profligacy, Greed, and Flattery. They watch to see who obtain Fortune's gifts in order that they may induce these to live with them. After squandering all of their victim's possessions, they deliver him to Retribution and her ragged crew—Sorrow, Anguish, Lament, Despair. These torture him and cast him into the House of Woe. The only escape is through Repentance.

At the entrance of the second circle stands False Learning. The sisters, Temperance and Fortitude, from the summit encourage the approaching traveler, telling him to be brave and patient, and promising that he will soon find the way easy. Finally the path reaches the third circle, where stands True Learning. The traveler is welcomed by a band of fair women—Knowledge and her sisters

Courage, Righteousness, Honor, Temperance, Order, Liberty, Self-Control, Gentleness. They conduct him to their mother, Happiness.<sup>1</sup>

A still more striking parallel to the religious allegories of Bunyan and Deguileville is a passage in Lucian's *Hermotimus*. Dr. Adam Clarke was the first to call attention to the similarity between this passage and the *Pilgrim's Progress*.<sup>2</sup> The passage from Lucian is as follows: "Let Virtue then be a city inhabited by none but happy Citizens, such as are perfectly wise, valiant, just, temperate, not much inferior even to the Gods themselves. Let those crimes too common amongst us, as Rapine, Violence, Avarice &c. be not so much as heard of in that City . . . [let the inhabitants] lead an easy sort of a quiet life, perfectly happy, blessed with good Laws, Equality, Liberty, and whatever else is desirable.

"*Hermo.* Well then, Lucian, pray is it not reasonable, that all People should desire to become inhabitants of such a City? . . .

"*Lucian.* By Jove, *Hermotimus*, this is above all things to be endeavored, without any other consideration; nor ought any one to be here detained, either by an Affection to his Country, or by the Entreaties of his Children and Relations; but those he must exhort to go along with him, whom if he finds either incapable or unwilling, he must even shake them off, and go himself to that Seat of perfect Happiness, nay, tho' they caught hold of his Cloak he must leave it and break from them, . . . An innumerable Company of Guides present themselves to you, and assure you, that they will conduct you the direct way, for there are abundance who pretend themselves Natives of this Place, and ply as it were for their Fare. Again, the ways that they would persuade you lead to this city, are many, various, and quite different. . . . This leads you thro' Meadows, green Herbs, thro' shady Groves, Springs, and pleasant Prospects, in which you meet with no rugged uneasy way. Whilst another offers you nothing but Rocky, and scarce

<sup>1</sup> Condensed from the outline given by Professor Richard Parsons in pp. 8-11 of the Introduction to his edition of *Cebes' Tablet*, Boston, 1897.

An English translation of *Cebes' Tablet* was made by John Healey in 1616.

<sup>2</sup> Postscript to Wetherall's *Life of Bunyan* prefixed to *The Pilgrim, an Epic Poem*, by C. C. V. G., 1844.

possible Roads, with the unpleasant Fatigue of being expos'd to the Sun's Heat, Thirst, Hunger, and great Labour and Pain. . . . This number and diversity of these ways embarrass me extremely and fix me in a perpetual uncertainty, to which nothing contributes more than the Guides themselves, who oppose each other with the highest Obstinacy, each extolling their own with a thousand extravagant Eulogies."<sup>1</sup>

It is extremely improbable that Bunyan had ever heard of either *Cebes' Tablet* or Lucian's *Hermotimus*, although the former has several times been mentioned among his possible prototypes.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it possible to believe that he had any acquaintance whatever with Rutebeuf's *Voie de Paradis* or Raoul de Houdan's *Songe d'Enfer* and *Voie de Paradis*. That these French allegories were known to Deguileville, however, is very probable. True, Deguileville declares his inspiration came from reading the *Roman de la Rose*, but the resemblance between the *Pèlerinage de l'Homme* and Raoul de Houdan's *Voie de Paradis* is too close to be thought of as a mere coincidence.<sup>3</sup>

It is evident that the specific form of allegory in which life is symbolized as a pilgrimage did not originate with Deguileville. It had been thought of many centuries before his day. From the present chapter it will be seen that during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries many books were written which either treat this specific form of allegory or suggest it, and that in several of the former the traces of Deguileville's influence are unmistakable. When, in addition to this fact, we remember how numerous were the ms. copies of Deguileville's allegory in both French and English, and how frequently the French text had been printed, it seems reasonable to ascribe to his influence the popularity of this idea.

In the preceding chapters the allegories most frequently men-

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Lucian*, Translated from the Greek by several Eminent Hands, with a Life by John Dryden, London, 1711, II, 551 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Parsons, Introduction, p. 5; Addison Hogue, "A Greek Pilgrim's Progress," *Union Seminary Magazine*, Richmond, Va., Feb.-March, 1902, pp. 211-224; Hazlitt's *Offspring of Thought in Solitude*, pp. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française des Origines à 1900*, Paris, 1896, II, 205-207.

tioned among the sources of the *Pilgrim's Progress* have been studied. There still remains a long list of books which, either from their subject-matter or from their titles, suggest a possible connection with the allegories of Bunyan. It is now proposed to examine these. Most of them are given in Offor's list (III, 11-42), but the outlines which he gives are not always satisfactory. The books which proved inaccessible have been marked with an asterisk. For the sake of convenience the books have been roughly classified under: 1. Non-allegorical works, 2. Allegorical works. The first division has been again sub-divided into (a) *Accounts of Pilgrimages—real or imaginary*, (b) *Religious Homilies, Pious Meditations*; the second into (a) *Allegory other than that of Pilgrimages*, (b) *Allegorical Pilgrimages*.

## 1. NON-ALLEGORICAL WORKS.

### (a) ACCOUNTS OF PILGRIMAGES, REAL OR IMAGINARY.

*Informacōn for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Lande.* From a rare tract in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, London, Roxburghe Club, 1824.

A guide-book for pilgrims to the Holy Land. Minute details are given as to prices, provisions, places of interest. Nothing allegorical. Offor (III, 23) cites the edition of 1524 printed by Wynkin de Worde.

Erasmus's *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury*; translated by J. G. Nichols, F. S. A., 1849.

"It contains much information on the state of the times, and the nature and effects of these popular exhibitions, with droll accounts of the relics that were exhibited to the besotted votaries. . . . Erasmus stigmatizes those who exhibited doubtful relics for real—who attribute to them greater value than they are worth, or sordidly manufacture them for gain."—Offor, III, 27.

*The Pilgrimage of Princes*, penned out of Sundry Greeke and Latine authours, by Lodowicke Lloid, Gent. At London.

Not allegorical. "It is a pilgrimage to the characters and works

of princes, which are curiously exhibited. A few are in poetry."—Offor, III, 29.

\*Pascha, J., *Peregrination Spirituelle vers la terre sainte*, 1566, and in Dutch, 1576.

"These are mere hand-books to guide pilgrims to the Holy Land."—Offor, III, 28.

Henry Timberlake, *A True and Strange Discourse of the Travailes of two English Pilgrimes*, London, 1609.

An account of an actual pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

*The Pilgrime of Casteele*. Written in Spanish by Lope de Vega. Translated into English, London, 1623.

An account of the adventures of a lover disguised as a pilgrim.

*Le Pelerin Veritable de la Terre Sainte* auquel sous le Discours figuré de la Ierusalem Antique et Moderne de la Palestine est enseigné le chemin de la Celeste. Au Treschrestien Roy de France et de Navarre, Louys Treziesme, Paris, 1615.

In four books. In the first book the author draws an analogy between a pilgrimage to the terrestrial Jerusalem and a pilgrimage to the celestial Jerusalem. The three remaining books contain no allegory, but are filled with instructions for making a voyage to the Holy Land, with descriptions of the Holy Land, with an account of the origin and death of Mahomet, &c.

*The Pilgrime of Loreto*. By Fa. Lewis Richeome. Written in French and translated into English by E. W. Printed at Paris, Anno Dom. MDCXXIX.

In the dedication, which is addressed "To the Most High and Excellent Princesse Mary by God's singular Providence Queene of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland," the author, after describing the timidity his Pilgrim felt in appearing before her Majesty, continues: "Neither doe I see, Madame, why this Pilgrime should feare to come to any Court, or company, seeing he cometh euery where but among his fellowes; for though all be not Pilgrimes of Loreto (neither is this booke only, or principally to direct such) yet whilest we live in this world, we are . . . all Pil-



grimes, . . . who though they have thousandes of Castles, and Citties, yet have they not heere any one Civitatem permanentem . . . but *futuram inquirimus*, we goe seeking one in Heaven, where be *multae mansiones*. Which this Pilgrimage (under the shadow of his other Pilgrimage) doth exactly teach us to do, exhorting us, with S. Peter, as strangers and Pilgrimes to abstaine from carnall desires which fight against the soule, and to seeke the spirituall and eternall. . . .”

The analogy is drawn with greater detail in Chapter II of Part III. This chapter is entitled, “The Likenes of the Pilgrimage of Man’s life to the pilgrimage of devotion. The spirituall habits of the Pilgrimes.” In it we are told that “the pilgrimage . . . to Loreto, and all others that men make upon the earth, are but figures and similitudes of the pilgrimage, that all mortall men do make from their birth to their grave, and comparing the figure to the truth, he shall find the one most lively expressed and represented in the other. The true Pilgrime hath alwayes in his thought the place whither he tendeth, he chooseth the shortest and surest way, he goeth forward without any markable stay. . . . He endureth in towne and field, all the incommodities and dangers of men and beasts, contempt, injury, hunger, thirst, want, heat, cold, hail, snow, sometyme lying under the house-roofe, sometyme under the cope, or canopy of heaven ; sometimes merry and wel disposed, sometime againe weary & crazed ; humble, patient, courteous, wise and circumspect in all his actions.

“He shall find all this, point by point practised in the pilgrimage of mans life, by those that are well advised pilgrimes. . . .

“He shall also allegorize all the parts of his furniture and appparell, and shall attire his soule to the likenes of his body. For his Hat he shall take the assistance of God ; his shooes Shall be the mortification of his affections ; Patience shall be his mantle, or lether cloake ; Civility shall be his coate or cassocke ; Chastity his girdle ; contemplatiō and meditation shalbe his bag and bottle ; the loue of the Crosse his pilgrimes staffe ; Faith, Charity, and good workes shal be his purse and mony, so shall he spiritually attire the inward man of the spirit, to the imitation of the Apostle Paul, who arming the Christian souldier geueth him his furniture, framed

of the stuffe of such like allegories, and armes, forged of the same mettall, *The shield of Verity, a breast-plate of Justice, shooes of the preparation of the Gospell, the buckler of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit of God.*"<sup>1</sup>

Among the many suggestions as to the sources of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, this particular passage apparently has never been cited—and yet it certainly contains the germ-idea of Bunyan's allegory. Not only so, but the arming of the pilgrim is also suggested. The way in which the author, in his dedication, personifies his Pilgrim is suggestive of the envoys of both Bernard and Bunyan. It is also worth noting that in Chapter XXIV of Part v (p. 423) a description of heaven is given.

### Summary.

The books enumerated in this list have to do with real pilgrimages. One of them, however, *Le Pelerin Veritable de la Terre Saincte*, suggests the allegory of the pilgrimage of human life, while a second, *The Pilgrime of Loreto*, not only suggests, but draws somewhat in detail, the analogy between such a pilgrimage and the pilgrimage which men actually make to places of devotion.

### (b) RELIGIOUS HOMILIES, PIOUS MEDITATIONS.

\**The Myrrour of Lyfe*, by William of Nassyngton, 1418.

"An ancient English poetical treatise on religion; excepting the title, it has no pretence to allegory."—Offor, III, 18.

Walter Hylton, *Scala Perfectionis*, London, 1507.

This book is interesting because it is the source of Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*. Chapter VI of Baker's *Sancta Sophia*, the book from which Patrick tells us he received the suggestion of his own allegory, is entitled: "A confirmation of what hath been said; particularly of the necessity of a strong Resolution and courage to persevere, shewed by the Parable of a Pilgrime traueilling to Jerusalem, out of *Scala Perfectionis*." <sup>2</sup> The Chapter

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the edition of 1630.

<sup>2</sup> *Sancta Sophia or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation*, by F. Augustine Baker. Methodically digested by R. F. Serenus Cressy, 2 vols., Doway, 1657.

is, for the most part, a quotation from Chapters XXI–XXIII of Hylton's book. These are as follows: <sup>1</sup> "There was a man that would go to Jerusalem. And because he knew not the way, he came to another man that he hoped knew the way better, and asked whither he might come to that city. That other man said to him that he might not come thither without great disease and much travel. For the way is long and perilous and full of great thieves and robbers and many other lettings there be that fall to a man in the going. And also there are many ways as it seems leading thitherward. But men all day are slain and despoiled and may not come to that place that they covet. Nevertheless there is one way the which who so taketh it and holdeth it, he will undertake that he should come to that city of Jerusalem and he should never lose his life nor be slain nor die for default. He should often be robbed and evilly beaten and suffer much disease in the going, but his life should be safe. Then said the Pilgrim, 'so that I may have my life safe and come to that place that I covet to I care not what mischief I suffer in going. And therefore tell me what thou wilt' . . . . That other man answereth and saith, 'This is the way . . . . what so thou hearest, seest, or feelest that should let thee in the way, abide not with it wilfully, tarry not for it wilfully, behold it not, like it not, but ever go forth in thy way and think that thou woldest be at Jerusalem.' . . . . (Chap. XXII) 'Now art thou in the way and "woost" how thou shalt go. Now beware of enemies that will be busy for to let thee, if they may, for their intent is for to put out of thy heart that desire and longing that thou hast to the love of Jesus, and for to drive thee home again to the love of worldly vanity. For there is nothing that grieveth them so much. These enemies are principally fleshly desires and vain "*dredes*" that rise out of thine heart through corruption of thy fleshly kind . . . Also other enemies there are as unclean spirits that are busy with sleights and wiles for to deceive thee. But one remedy shalt thou have that I said before. What so it be they say, trow them not but hold forth thy way . . . and answer ever thus I am nought, I have nought, I covet nought but only the love of our Lord.'"

<sup>1</sup> The spelling has been modernized.

Offer (III, 22) gives a brief outline of the *Scala Perfectionis*, but strangely enough makes no allusion to these chapters. Concerning its popularity he says: "This was one of the most popular of the monkish writings, and so much esteemed in the reign of James II., as to have been published by the court to promote the influence of popery in these realms; it was then very much altered, and *not* improved."

Artus Desiré, *Les Combatz du fidelle Papiste Pelerin Romain contre l'apostast Priapististe*, Rouen, 1550.

Controversy between papacy and protestantism.

Artus Desiré, *Les Batailles et Victoires du Chevalier Celeste contre le Chevalier Terrestre*, Paris, 1553.

"Chevalier Celeste" is the Church of Rome, "Chevalier Terrestre" the Heretics at Geneva.

*Viaggio Spirituale*. Del R. P. Cornelio Bellanda di Verona, Venetia, MDLXXVIII.

A treatise on penance, confession, mercy of God, &c.

*The Pilgrimage of Man, Wandering in a Wildernes of Woe*, London, 1606.

In nine chapters, each of which treats of a particular misery, e. g., the misery of birth, of youth, of early manhood, of wicked kings, of vicious courtiers, of marriage, of age and the terrible judgment of God at the last day.

Leonard Wright, *The Pilgrimage to Paradise*, London, 1608.

"Full of sound instruction, but not allegorical."—Offer, III, 29.

Arthur Dent, *The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven*, Eighteenth Impression, 1622. Written about 1590.

This is one of the few books which Bunyan is *known* to have read, being one of the two which his wife brought as her dowry. It is in the form of a dialogue, the interlocutors being Theologus a divine, Philagathus an honest man, Asunetus an ignorant man, and Antilegon a caviler. Asunetus and Antilegon are on their way to a neighbor's to buy a cow. They are entreated by Theologus to leave off talking of cows and other worldly matters



and to enter into some speech concerning religion. All four seat themselves under the shade of a neighboring oak, and here Theologus, at the instigation of Philagathus, instructs the other two in the principles of religion. Asunetus quakes and trembles at the words of Theologus, whereupon his friend Antilegon hastens to reassure him with the comforting thought that after all he is a very decent sort of fellow and does not deserve to be damned. But Asunetus is not so easily comforted. "Tush, tush," says Antilegon, "now I see you are in a melancholy humour. If you will go home with me, I can give you a speedy remedy, for I have many pleasant and merry books, which, if you should hear them read, would soon remedy you of this melancholy humour. I have the Court of Venus, the Palace of pleasure, Bevis of Southampton, Ellen of Rummin, The merry jest of the Fryer and the boy, The pleasant story of Clem of the Clough, Adam Bel, and William of Cloudesley, The odd tale of William, Richard, and Humphrey, The pretty conceit of John Splinter's last Will & Testament."

"And shall I tell you my opinion of them," Philagathus asks, "I do thus think that they were devised by the Devil, seen and allowed by the Pope, printed in Hell, bound up by Hobgoblin, and first published and dispersed in Rome, Italy, and Spain."

While Dent's book contains no allegory, it nevertheless exerted a marked influence upon Bunyan. Many of its homely, pithy expressions remind us very forcibly of the great allegorist. Its influence is especially noticeable in the *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*.<sup>1</sup>

Abraham Fleming, *The Footepath to Felicitie, which everie Christian must walke in, before he can come to the land of Canaan*, London, 1581.

Chapter VIII speaks of the two ways shaped like a "y," one being the broad way along which many go, the other the strait and narrow way traveled by only a few.

\**The Plain Man's Pilgrimage or Journey towards Heaven*. By W. W[ebster], 1613.

"First, To set out on the journey, we must get rid of covetous-

<sup>1</sup> See Brown's *Life of Bunyan*, pp. 55, 317.



ness. Second, For speed, we must begin young—give God the heart, and number our days. We have a long journey to go in a short space of time—a day. A short life is like a winter's day; a long life like a day in summer."—Offor, III, 32.

Robert Hill, *The Pathway to Prayer and Pietie*, 6th edition, London, 1615.

An exposition of the Lord's Prayer, directions for a Christian life, &c.

\*John Wells, *The Soule's Progresse to the Celestiall Canaan, or Heavenly Jerusalem. By way of godly meditations and holy contemplations*, 1639. [Offor, III, 38.]

\**A Spiritual Duel between a Christian and Satan*. By H. J., 1646; with a frontispiece representing a Saint armed, supported by Faith, Hope, and Charity, fighting Diabolus, attended by Mundus and Caro. Flame is proceeding from the mouth of Diabolus.

"A long and dreary conference between a sinner and Satan, . . . not relieved by anything allegorical."—Offor, III, 38.

*The Christian Pilgrime in his Spirituall Conflict and Conquest*. First published in Spanish by the Reverend Father John Castiniza. . . . Afterwards put into the Latine, Italian, German, French, and now lastly into the English Tongue, according to the Originall Copy. Second edition, Paris, MDCLII.

A book showing how the Christian is to strive for perfection by prayer, meditation, and intercession with the Virgin Mary.

John Reading, *A Guide to the Holy City, or Directions and Helps to an holy life*, Oxford, 1651.

*The Pilgrims Pass to the New Jerusalem, or The Serious Christian his Enquiries after Heaven*. By "M. R. Gent.," London, 1659.

A series of meditations on various passages of Scripture. The author's address to his book recalls the envoys of Bernard, Patrick, and Bunyan :

"To seek the wandering pilgrim, thou must go,  
 Poor little book, thy fate will have it so.  
 I pity thee, for this censorious age  
 Will cause thee have a tedious pilgrimage.  
 There's some will think thee rash, others will spy  
 In thee a smack of singularity.  
 This laughs, and that derides, another scorns,  
 A wilderness is not without its thorns.  
 Then go, if thy success be not too bad,  
 I'll send thee forth, ere long, far better clad."

Robert Whittell, *The Way to the Celestial Paradise*, London, 1620.

The way is through faith in Jesus Christ, repentance, and prayer.

Robert Bruen, *The Pilgrimes Practice, containing many Godly Prayers fitted for Travellers in their Journey towards Spirituall Canaan*, London, 1621.

A collection of prayers suitable for morning and evening worship, for the Sabbath, for a distressed conscience.

Thomas Taylor, *The Pilgrim's Profession, or a Sermon preached at the Funerall of Mrs. Mary Gunter*, London, 1633.

A sermon upon the text "I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were" (*Psalms*, xxxix, 12). Beyond the recognition of life as a pilgrimage, there is no allegory.

Lawrence Banks, *Jacob's Pilgrimage, or the Path of Patience*, 1623. *Spanish Pilgrime, or an admirable Discovery of a Romish Catholicke*, 1625.

"There is nothing allegorical in these volumes."—Offor, III, 33.

Scudder's *Christian's Daily Walk*, 1625.

Directions as to how to walk with God.

James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime, or A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Stratagems*, 1630.

The author, an apostate from the Romish Church, claims to reveal the plots of his former associates.

Thomas Playfere, *The Pathway to Perfection*. A sermon preached at Saint Maryes Spittle in London on Wednesday in Easter Weeke, 1593. London, 1597.

\*John Hodges, *Wholesome Repast for the Soule in her Pilgrimage towards Jerusalem which is above*, 1638.

"This is a series of meditations on passages of Holy Writ, arranged in the order of the alphabet."—Offor, III, 38.

Henry Vane, *A Pilgrimage into the land of Promise*, by the light of the vision of Jacob's ladder and faith, 1664.

Edward Bury, *A Help to Holy Walking, or a Guide to Glory*, London, 1675.

Directions how to worship God and to walk with Him.

George Keith, *The Way to the City of God*, 1678.

Pious meditations showing how one may attain unto righteousness.

Christopher Nesse, *A Christian's Walk and Work on Earth until he attain to Heaven*, 2d ed., London, 1678.

Pierre Berault, *Le Veritable et Assuré Chemin du Ciel*, London, MDCLXXI.

We are bound to obey Christ and Charles II. since each is our king by birth, by election, and by conquest. The book is in both French and English.

\**A Pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem by a Poor Clare*. From an ancient MS. belonging to the Bridgettine Nuns of Sion House, Spetisbury. [No date.]

*The Path to Paradise, being the Catholic's companion to the most adorable sacrament of the Altar*, 17th ed., Dublin, 1820.

*The Distressed Pilgrim*. [A poem in four stanzas. Without date.]

*The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Hierusalem, Contayninge three hundred sixtie five dayes Iorney, wherein the deuote Person may meditate on sondrie pointes of his Redemption*. [No date. Preface is signed R. H.]

In the preface the allegory of life as a pilgrimage is suggested, the author here declaring that "this presente life is no other thinge but a continuall Pilgrimage which we are to make upon the earth, . . . which when we have faithfully walked, we may come to the Citie of heavenly Hierusalem."

*Summary.*

With two exceptions the books here enumerated contain no allegory save in their titles, being for the most part sermons and pious homilies. The titles are significant, for in them is frequently contained a hint of an allegorical pilgrimage, as, for instance, in *The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven*, one of the few books Bunyan is known to have read. In one of the books of this list, *The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Hierusalem*, the suggestion of an allegorical pilgrimage is not confined to the title, while in another, *Scala Perfectionis*, the design of a *Pilgrim's Progress* is outlined with some degree of fullness.

## 2. ALLEGORICAL WORKS.

## (a) ALLEGORY OTHER THAN THAT OF PILGRIMAGES.

*The Abbey of the Holy Ghost.*

This allegory, a dim foreshadowing of the *Holy War*, is ascribed to John Alcocke, the founder of Jesus College, Cambridge. It is an allegorical presentation of the fall and redemption of mankind. The Abbey, which was conveyed to Adam, Eve, and their heirs forever, provided they resisted the temptations of the evil one, is situated upon the waters of Mercy. The abbess is named Charity, the prioress Wisdom, the sub-prioress Meekness; the nuns are Poverty, Cleanness, Temperance, Soberness, Penance, Buxomness, Confession, Righteousness, Predication, Strength, Patience, Simplicity, Mercy, Largeness, Reason, Piety, Meditation, Orison, Devotion, Contemplation, Chastity, Jubilation, Honesty, Courtesy, Fear, and Jealousy. While the portress is away, the abbey is seized by a tyrant, who puts in charge his four daughters, Pride, Envy, False Judgment, and Lust.<sup>1</sup> The abbey is destroyed and the former inmates driven away. At last Christ comes, finds the abbess and her company, takes them with him to hell, returns with Adam, Eve, and all their friends, and replaces them in the Abbey of the Holy Ghost in Paradise.

<sup>1</sup> A similar incident occurs in Lydgate's translation of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*. See p. 63, above.

Robert Grosteste, *Castellum Amoris*; *Le Chateau d'Amour*.

Edited by James Orchard Halliwell, London, 1849.

"It narrates the creation and fall of man; the four daughters of God—Mercy, Truth, Patience, and Peace—unite to devise the means of man's restoration. The divisions are—I. The Prophets predict. II. The Saviour is born in the great Palace of Love. III. The Palace is described with its keepers. IV. Satan attempts to overcome the keepers."—Offor, III, 21.

\* *The Pype, or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection*, 1532.

"This is an allegorical work for the instruction of nuns, written by the old wretch of Sion [Richard Whytforde]; and although it is not a pilgrimage or a dream, it is a guide to female pilgrims. Under the idea of wine being kept in a pipe or tun, is represented—1. The life of perfection, as *the wine*; 2. Religion, *the pipe*; 3. Essential vows, obedience, wilful poverty, and chastity, *the staves*; 4. Holy rules, *the hoops*; 5. Ceremonies, *the wickers*, by which the hoops are made fast. If these wickers fail, the hoops open, the cask falls to pieces, and the wine is lost; *all depends upon the ceremonies*. . . . The work is divided into three parts: 'Of Obedience,' 'Wylfull Pouertie,' and 'Chastite'; being the three great vows made by the nuns to whom it is addressed."—Offor, III, 24.

\* *Benoist* (Father-Confessor to Mary Queen of Scots), *le Chevalier Chrestien*.

"This is a dialogue between a Christian knight and an infidel, whom he attempts to instruct in the knowledge of God and the Romish faith. It has cuts representing the knight's horse, and the various parts of his armour and habiliments, which are spiritualized."—Offor, III, 29.

\* *True Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Superstition, late of the parish of Ignorance, in the county of Blind Devotion*, 1642.

*The Last Will and Testament of Sir John Presbyter, who dyed of a new Disease called, The particular charge of the Army*, 1647.

A satirical pamphlet of some half-dozen pages.



\**A Dialogue between Life and Death.* Very requisite for the contemplation of all transitory Pilgrims and pious-minded Christians, 1657.

"This little book consists of only twenty-four leaves, and might have been seen by Bunyan as a religious tract previous to his writing the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It contains nothing allegorical as to pilgrimages, nor any idea that could have assisted our author in composing his great work. It is a Dance of Death, illustrated with very rude cuts, and printed with a homely rhyme to each."—*Offor*, III, 39.

*A pleasant Discourse between Conscience and Plain-dealing.* Written by C. H., London.

A pamphlet of 24 pages, in which Conscience and Plain-dealing give an account of their travels, with special mention of their reception in London, where both are comparative strangers.

Bishop Womack, *Examination of Tilenus*, London, 1658. Reprinted in Nichols' *Arminianism and Calvinism Compared*, 1824.

Some one, writing to the *Academy* (VIII, 63), suggests that Bunyan may have received a few hints from this book. The only allegory in it is the names of the jury: Dr. Absolute, Chairman, Mr. Fatality, Mr. Preterition, Mr. Fry-babe, Dr. Dam-man, Mr. Narrow-grace alias Stint-grace, Mr. Efficax, Mr. Indefectible, Dr. Confidence, Dr. Dubious, Mr. Meanwell, Mr. Simulans, Mr. Take-o'-Trust, Mr. Know-little, Mr. Impertinent. If it be admitted that Bunyan was familiar with Bernard's *Isle of Man*, there is not the slightest reason for supposing that he received any hints from this work.

Sir David Lyndsay (1490–1555), *The Dreme*.

The author describes a dream in which Dame Remembrance appears to him and invites him to go with her. They visit hell, the planets, heaven, earth, &c.

William Dunbar (1465?–1530?), *The Golden Targe*.

"The poet represents Cupid as steadily repelled by Reason with golden targe or shield, till a powder thrown into his eyes overpowers him."—*Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XVI, 156.

Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island*, 1633.

See above, p. 89, note.

*The Soul's Warfare, Comically digested into Scenes, acted between the Soul and her Enemies, Wherein she cometh off Victrix with an Angelical Plaudit*, London, 1672. [The dedication, addressed to Mary Countess of Warwick, is signed "R. T."]

There is a slight connection between this work and the *Holy War*. The *dramatis personae* are: Empirea, the Soul; Cosmus, the World; Profit and Pleasure, her two minions; Satan; Lust; Caro, the Flesh; Reason, Privy Counsellor to Empirea, but disloyal; Scandal, Poverty, Sickness—Castigators; Faith, Hope, and Charity—the three theological graces and attendants to the Queen Empirea; Visus, Auditus, Olfactus, Tactus, Gustus. The Soul is first tempted by Cosmus, who desires to have Profit and Pleasure attend her Highness. The temptation being scornfully rejected, Satan and Lust plot with Cosmus the destruction of Soul. With Reason as their ally and with the aid of Flesh, they hope to win Knowledge, President of the Privy Council, to their side, and to render Will neutral. Disappointed in this they seek Soul's destruction by tempting the five senses, but Empirea, aided by Faith, again withstands them. The last attempt is to overcome her by means of Slander, Poverty, and Sickness, but Soul is supported by Faith, Hope, and Charity. The Epilogue describes the joy of the angels over Soul's victory.

#### *Summary.*

These books, while allegorical, contain no suggestion of an allegorical pilgrimage. A dim fore-shadowing of the *Holy War* can be traced in the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and the *Soul's Warfare*. The trial-feature, so prominent in Bernard's *Isle of Man* and introduced by Bunyan in both the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War*, appears in Bishop Womack's *Examination of Tilenus*.

## (b). ALLEGORICAL PILGRIMAGES.

*The History of Graund Amoure and La Bel Pucel called The Pastime of Pleasure, Conteyning the knowledge of the Seven Sciences and the Course of Man's Life in this Worlde.* Invented by Stephen Hawes, Grome of Kyng Henry the Seventh his chamber. Anno Domini, 1555. [Edited by T. Richards for the Percy Society, vol. xviii, 1846.]

A knight named Graund Amoure sets out in search of a lady named La Bel Pucel. Walking through a meadow he comes to the paths of contemplative life and of active life. He chooses the path of active life. He is soon met by a lovely lady on horseback. She is called Fame and the two grey-hounds that follow her, Governance and Grace. She describes to the Knight the charms of La Bel Pucel and instructs him how to obtain her, at the same time warning him of the many dangers he must first undergo. Following her directions he comes to the tower of Doctrine, into which he is admitted by the portress named Countenance. Dame Reason is the marshal of this tower, Temperance the chief cook, Fidelity the lady chamberlain, Liberality the high steward. From the tower of Doctrine he is sent to Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and finally to Music. In the temple of Music he meets with La Bel Pucel, with whom he falls desperately in love. She in turn acknowledges her love for him, but tells him that he must face many dangers before he can hope to win her. In order to prepare for these perils he goes to the tower of Chivalry, and is here knighted and equipped with armor. Upon leaving the tower of Chivalry, he is accompanied by the knights Fidelity, Fortitude, Consuetude, Justice, Misericorde, Sapience, Courtesy, Nurture, and Concord. The Knight now meets with many adventures. After slaying a giant with three heads, he encounters another with the seven heads of Dissimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, Doubleness. At length he is married to La Bel Pucel and with her lives happily until the coming of Age, who brings with him Avarice and Policy. Then Death approaches, and the Knight's soul is sent to Purgatory.

The *Pastime of Pleasure* bears some resemblance to Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*. The two paths of contemplative and of active life are strikingly similar to Deguileville's two paths of Idleness and of Occupation; the lovely lady, Fame, who directs the Knight how to win La Bel Pucel, recalls Grace Dieu, Pilgrim's guide; the equipment of the Knight with armor at the tower of Chivalry finds a counterpart in the equipment of Pilgrim with armor at the house of Grace Dieu; the Knight's encounter with the giant having the seven heads of Dissimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, and Doubtfulness, is paralleled by Pilgrim's encounter with the seven hags—Sloth, Pride, Envy, &c.; the coming of Age and of Death is similarly described in both allegories.

\**Peregrinatio Scholastica, or Learninges Pillgrimage. Containeinge the Straunge Aduentures, and Various Entertainements, he founde in his trauailes towards the Shrine of Latria. Composede and deuised into Severall Morrall Tractates by John Daye, Cantabr.*<sup>1</sup>

\*Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Christliche Pilgerschaft zum ewigen Vaterland*, 1512.

"As Bunyan seems to have learnt something from the Anabaptists,<sup>2</sup> this German 'pilgrimage to the everlasting Fatherland' might possibly have indirectly influenced him"—Chambers, *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, London and Edinburgh, 1901, I, 722.

Gawin Douglas (1474?-1522), *The Palice of Honour and King Hart*.

"The theme of the 'Palice' is the career of the virtuous man, over manifold and sometimes phenomenal difficulties, towards the sublime heights which his disciplined and well-ordered faculties should enable him to reach. . . . It is manifest that he [Douglas] has read Chaucer and Langland, but he likewise gives certain fresh features of detail that anticipate both Spenser and Bunyan."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Henry J. Todd, *The Works of Spenser*, London, 1805, II, p. cxxv.

<sup>2</sup>In addition to the articles of Heath mentioned above (p. 4), see also E. Belfort Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists*, London and New York, 1903, pp. 368, 379-381.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Chambers, *Encyclopedia of Literature*, Boston, 1855, I, 44.

The poem is a crystallisation of the chivalrous spirit, in the enforcement of a strenuous moral law and a lofty but arduous line of conduct. 'King Hart' likewise embodies a drastic and wholesome experience. It is a presentation of the endless conflict between flesh and spirit, in which the heart, who is king of the human state, knoweth his own trouble, and is purged as if by fire."—*Die. Nat. Biog.*, xv, 294.

William Langland, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*.

"I am inclined to think that we owe to Piers Plowman, an allegorical work of the same wild invention from that other creative mind, the author of *Pilgrim's Progress*. How can we think of the one, without being reminded of the other? Some distant relationship seems to exist between the Ploughman's *Dowell* and *Dobet* and *Dobest*, *Friar Flatterer*, *Grace*, the Portress of the magnificent Tower of *Truth*, viewed at a distance, and by its side the dungeon of *Care*, *Natural Understanding*, and his lean and stern wife *Study*, and all the rest of this numerous company, and the shadowy pilgrimage of the 'Immortal Dreamer' to the 'Celestial City.' Yet I would mistrust my own feeling, when so many able critics, in their various researches after a prototype of that singular production, have hitherto not suggested what seems to me obvious."—Isaac Disraeli, *Amenities of Literature*, New York, 1871, I, 219-220.

*Le Peregrin: traictât de l'honneste & pudique amour, par pure et sincere Vertu.* Traduict de vulgaire Italien en langue Frâcoyse par maistre Frâcoys Dâssy, seeretaire du roy de Navarre. [This is a translation of J. Cavice's *Libro del Peregrino*, the date of which, according to Brunet, is 1508. The translation cited by Offor is dated 1528.]

"The pilgrim, a native of Ferrara, at the age of twenty-two years on May-day, attended to hear a Dominican friar preach. Divine love lay in ambush, and the eloquence of the preacher pierced his heart. . . . Under the character of a lady named Geneure, the daughter of Angiolo (the Virgin Mary, queen of angels), to that time unknown to him, is personated that which



alone can cure his wounded spirit. This lady is very wise and modest, young, but ancient in prudence, and very difficult to obtain. He becomes very desirous of obtaining her, and his pilgrimage is made with this object. Through the aid of Geneure's nurse, Violante, he corresponded with her, and sought an interview. He is directed to a subterraneous passage, by which he hopes secretly to reach her house in the night; but mistakes the chamber, and enters that of another young lady, named Lyonore (the lioness), the daughter of Petruccio (the flurty), and mistook her for Geneure." Geneure is greatly distressed upon learning of the pilgrim's supposed treason. She threatens to enter a nunnery. "The pilgrim, before Geneure entered upon her noviciate, met her accidentally at church, and proposes marriage, his faults are forgiven, they become united, and pass their time in great happiness, until death separated them."—Offor, III, 23.

*The Pylgrimage of Perfection.* Imprinted at London . . . by Richarde Pynson, . . . Anno Domini, 1526. [Ascribed to William Bond.]

The Prologue contains the suggestion of a pilgrim's progress: "This treatyse called the pilgrymage of perfection is distincte and diuydyed into thre bokes . . . The first boke sheweth generally howe ye lyfe of every cristian is as a pilgremage: which we vowe and promesse in our baptyme takyng on us the iourney to the heuenly Jerusalem." The *Pylgrimage of Perfection* contains very little allegory.

Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes.* A facsimile edition by Henry Green, London, 1866.

Quarles' *Emblems*, ed. by George Offor, London, 1823.

A form of composition which became very popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that of emblem-writing. In this particular field no one enjoyed greater popularity than did Geoffrey Whitney, whose book — *Emblemes and Other Devises, gathered, Englished, and moralized, and diverse newly Devised* — was published in Holland in 1585. One of the emblems of this collection, entitled "The Pilgrim," was pointed out by James

Montgomery in 1827<sup>1</sup> as the work which "might perhaps have inspired the first idea" of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Montgomery repeats the suggestion in his Essay of the following year, and adduces the following points in its support: "The emblem represents a Pilgrim leaving the world (a geographical globe) behind, and journeying toward the symbol of the Divine name, in glory, at the opposite extremity of the scene. Now, in the old editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the very first print of Christian with his back on 'the city of Destruction,' traveling towards 'the Wicket Gate' so nearly resembles the former, that it might have been assumed at once that the designer had Whitney's emblem in his eye, had not the Author himself apparently had the same in *his* eye when he wrote the scene of Christian's setting out. For when Evangelist directing him whither he must flee, asks him, 'Do you see yonder Wicket-gate? . . . go up directly thereto,' if our Author had had Whitney's picture before him, he could not more accurately have copied it in words. It is remarkable also that the verses under Whitney's print are accompanied with the marginal note—'Peregrinus Christianus loquitur' which Bunyan's ingenuity might easily have turned into 'Christian, the Pilgrim, speaks'; and thus elicited the name of his hero. Nor is this conjecture so far-fetched as it may at first appear; for he could certainly learn from some person the meaning of the marginal words. . . . Another slight circumstance may be mentioned:—though Whitney's Pilgrim does not carry a burthen, in a preceding print,<sup>2</sup> a man is represented swimming from a shipwreck, with a burthen bound upon his back precisely as Christian's is in the prints of the old editions."

The words of Whitney's emblem are as follows:<sup>3</sup>

SUPER EST QUOD SUPRA EST.

*Adewe deceitfull worlde, thy pleasure I detest :*

*Nowe others with thy shoves delude ; my hope in heaven doth rest.*

<sup>1</sup> *The Christian Poet*, Glasgow, 1827, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Green's Facsimile Edition, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 225.

*Inlarged as followeth.*

Even as a flower, or like vnto the grasse,  
Which now dothe stande, and straight with sithe doth fall,  
So is our state : now here, now hence wee passe :  
For Time attendes with shredding sithe for all.  
And Deathe at lengthe, both oulde, and yonge, doth strike :  
And into dust dothe turne vs all alike.

Yet, if wee marke how swifte our race doth ronne,  
And waighe the cause, why wee created bee :  
Then shall wee know, when that this life is donne,  
Wee shall bee sure our countrie right to see.  
For, here wee are but straungers, that must flitte :  
The nearer home, the nearer to the pitte.

O happie they, that pondering this arighte,  
Before that here their pilgrimage bee past,  
Resigne this worlde : and marche with all their mighte  
Within that pathe, that leades where ioyes shall last.  
And whilst they maye, there, treasure vp their store,  
Where, without rust, it lastes for euermore.

This worlde must chaunge : That worlde shall still indure :  
Here, pleasures fade : There, shall they endlesse bee :  
Here, man doth sinne : And there, hee shalbee pure :  
Here, deathe hee tastes : And there, shall neuer die.  
Here, hath hee grieffe : And there shall ioyes possesse,  
As none hath seene, nor anie harte can gesse."

"The Pilgrim," one of the poems in Francis Quarles' collection of *Emblems*,<sup>1</sup> contains the same idea. It may be found also in "The Pilgrimage"—one of the poems in *The Temple* of George Herbert, and in a poem of Sir Walter Raleigh, entitled "The Pilgrimage."

Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

Attention has often been called to the fact that the *Faerie Queene* and the *Pilgrim's Progress* have certain features in common. These resemblances have all been brought together in the two studies mentioned above (pp. 3-4),—the dissertation of Otto Kötze and the article contributed by "L. A. H." to the *Methodist Quarterly Review*. Among the most striking parallelisms adduced are : the houses of Holiness and Pride and the Palace Beautiful ; the

<sup>1</sup> Offer's edition, London, 1823, Book IV, No. 2.

entertainment of the Red Cross Knight at the house of Holiness by Dame Caelia and her daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the entertainment of Christian at the Palace Beautiful by Discretion, Piety, Prudence, and Charity; the encounter of the Red Cross Knight with the Dragon and Christian's encounter with Apollyon; the visit of the Red Cross Knight to the Cave of Despair and Christian's imprisonment by Giant Despair in Doubting Castle.

Many of the resemblances between Spenser and Bunyan cited by Kötze could be easily paralleled from other allegories. For instance, the view of the new Jerusalem accorded the Red Cross Knight from the hill Contemplation finds its analog, not only in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but also in Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*, Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*, and Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, while Bernard's "Apology" in the *Isle of Man* is far more probably the prototype of Bunyan's "Apology" than is Spenser's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. Possibly no incidents in the *Pilgrim's Progress* resemble the *Faerie Queene* more closely than the description of Christian's entertainment at the Palace Beautiful and his subsequent encounter with Apollyon. Yet these are paralleled just as closely by Deguileville's description of Pilgrim's reception at the house of Grace Dieu and his later encounter with Rude Entendement. To most students the resemblances between the two allegories will not appear sufficiently distinctive to establish the fact of Bunyan's indebtedness to Spenser.

David Lindsey, *The Godly Man's Journey to Heaven: Containing Ten Severall Treatises*. (1) An Heauenly Chariot the first part. (2) An Heauenly Chariot the second part. (3) The blessed Chariots Man. (4) The Lanthorne for the Chariot. (5) The Skilfull Chariot Driuer. (6) The garde of the Chariot. (7) The sixe Robbers of the Chariot. (8) The Three Rocks layd in the Way. (9) The onely Inne Gods babes aime at. (10) The Guests of the Inne. London, 1625.

The sovereign coachmaster is that blessed Spirit of the Father and of his dearest son Jesus Christ; the lantern is the Old and

New Testament; the skilful driver, the ministers of God; the robbers, the Popish Seminary; the rocks, abuse of God's holy Predestination and Election, abuse of God's grace, the outward profession of religion; the inn to which the "Babes of God" are borne is the New Jerusalem; the guests, those who are true Christians.

*The Penitent Pilgrim*, London, 1641. Reprinted in Pickering's *Christian Classics*, 1847, pp. 1-257. [Ascribed to R. Braithwait.]

This book contains comparatively little allegory. Pride, Covetousness, Lechery, Envy, Gluttony, Wrath, and Sloth, under cover of lodging with Pilgrim as his guests, seek his undoing. By their treacherous assault, his "Cinque Ports"—Sight, Hearing, Smell, Taste, and Touch—are endangered. In his affliction he receives promise of help from Faith, Hope, and Charity. At length, wearied with his sojourn in Idumea, he enters the land of Canaan.

*The booke of the pylgrymage of man.*

Below the title is a wood-cut representing a pilgrim with a staff in one hand and a clasped book in the other. The second page reads: "Here begynneth a boke in Frenche called le pelerynage de Lhomme / in latyn peregrinatio humani generis / & in oure Maternal tunge the pylgrymage of mankynd of late drawen and incompendiouce prose cōpounded by the reuerent father in god dane william hendred<sup>1</sup> Prioure of the honourable place and pryory of Leomynstre / And now newly at the specyal comaundement of the same Father reuerent I have compyled the tenure of the same in Metre comprehended in xxvi Chaptours as ensuyngge appereth."<sup>2</sup>

The actual pilgrimage does not begin until the eleventh chapter. The pilgrim chooses for a guide Beatus Vir. They first come to a castle called Corpus Christi. Thence they go to a "comely gay monastery," which was the monastery of St. John,

<sup>1</sup> Offor (III, 15, note 2), misled by the identity of the titles, confounds William Hendred with Guillaume de Deguileville.

<sup>2</sup> The book was printed by Richard Faques. It is extremely rare. The only copy I have been able to discover is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford.



the Baptist. They next proceed to the saintly abbey of St. Benet, and then to the monastery of St. Matthew. Finally they reach the abbey of the Holy Ghost, where their pilgrimage ends.

With the exception of the title, this poem is totally unlike Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Homme*. So far as the subject-matter goes, there is little or no connection between the two. Offor (III, 15, note 1) queries whether this may not be Skelton's translation mentioned above, p. 15.

Artus Desiré, *Le Grand Chemin Celeste de la Maison de Dieu, pour tous vrayz Pelerins Celestes, traversans les desertz de ce monde, et des choses necessaires & requises pour paruenir au port de Salut*, Paris, 1565.

To pass comfortably through this life do not burden yourself with a heavy garment lined with vain-glory, but clothe yourself in the mantle of patience. Wear a beautiful hat of honor, youth, and abstinence for protection against the heat of carnal concupiscence. When going over bad passages, support yourself on the staff of the cross. Lodge nowhere save in the holy Roman Church, which was founded by God many years ago. The rest of the poem describes in detail the pilgrim's outfit: cloak, hat, staff, bag in which to carry the bread, bottle for the wine, &c.

*A Spiritual Journey of a Young Man, toward the Land of Peace, to live therein Essentially in God, who met in his Journey with three sorts of disputes.* Translated out of Dutch, London, 1659.

The three "disputations" are between Old Age and Childhood, between the Wisdom of the Flesh and the Simplicity of Christ, between the Lust and Pleasure of this World and the Lust or Desire to God. These are followed by the proverbs of Old Age addressed to Youth, the round dance of the vain heathenish Lusts, and finally a conference between Old Age and Youth.

\**Philothea's Pilgrimage to Perfection.* Described in a Practice of Ten Days' Solitude. By Brother John of the Holy Cross, Frier Minour. Bruges, 1668.

"The pilgrim's name is 'Philothea' . . . The journey is divided into ten days' solitary employment, that the pilgrim might

be ravished into the heavenly paradise . . . To attain this, very minute directions are given as to time, place, posture of body, method, choice of a guide, &c. . . . Her exercises are to be vocal prayer, reading spiritual books, corporal mortifications, and manual labour ; use only one meal a day ; to this, add a hair cloth next the skin, and occasional floggings."—Offer, III, 39–40.

*The Situation of Paradise Found Out ; Being an History of a late Pilgrimage unto the Holy Land, London, 1683.*

The pilgrim's guide is Theosophus, who, after many futile attempts to restore the former purity of the church, retires into the country. The church of Christ is driven by a storm from the North into the wilderness. From the top of a mountain the pilgrim with the aid of a telescope sees the sin and folly of the world. The book ends with a vision of Tophet.

*The trauayled Pylgreme, bringing newes from all partes of the worlde, such like scarce harde of before, 1569.*

This rare volume, the work of Stephen Batman, is in verse, and is interspersed with numerous wood-cuts. These, eighteen in number, are accompanied with explanatory matter.

The Author, arming himself with the sword of Courage and the shield of Hope, mounts his horse Will and sets out to win for himself prowess. After two days of riding he comes to "a goodly green" called Worldly Pleasure. Here he meets a powerful knight, huge and great of body, whose command to yield he straightway obeys. The name of the knight is Disagreement. To test the Author's strength, the knight knocks him down with his spear, which was shod with little Wit. They then fight with swords until the coming on of night, when the Author is glad enough to quit. He finds one who refreshes him with the bread of Life and the cup of Health, and whose name he afterwards learns is Understanding. The latter advises him to take Reason as his guide, and warns him against Debility and Dolor. After supper the Author is allowed to sleep in the bed of Rest. In the morning he is led by Obedience to the house of Reason.

"Justice justly there did judge, both matters right and wrong,  
Fortitude and strength, also with Loue, sang there hir song.

Whose notes surpassed the Nightingale, she did me so enflame,  
 That I desired still to heare the sweete and pleasant Dame.  
 She hight the loue of Gods word pure, his name she still did prayse,  
 Both night and day at no time ceast, still lauding all true wayes.  
 There Temperance sate, and Faith also, with Charitie and Hope,  
 Ech one with other there did sit, and Concorde set the note."

His horse Will, sparing neither dale nor hill in the field of Worldly Pleasure, runs with such force that the Author's arms and hands are made to ache in his efforts to restrain him. He is now met by another knight, riding a horse called Paine. In the fight that ensues the Author is overcome. His antagonist, he learns, is Age, whom every one traveling through the plain of Time must encounter. After many admonitions from Age he resumes his journey, and soon comes to an obscure path called Deceit or Guile. But for Remembrance he would have forgotten the promises made to Age and would have allowed himself to be won by Deceit.

Escaping this danger, he next reaches a beautiful palace in which he sees "fresh ladies fit for Pan." The building is the "world both fresh and gay," the damsels the fell vices which infect man's heart. Desire urges him to enter the palace, good Memory to remain without. Her counsel is taken and passing on he soon comes to the bleak and barren desert of old Age. Here he sees a marvelous sight. By painting their faces, wearing gay attire, &c., Dames Daintie, Littlewit, Flattrie, Meretrix, Flingbraine, Ire and Idell, Discord and Pickthanke, Beldame Coy and Maistresse Nice—vainly attempt to resist Age. The Author is greatly perplexed as to how he shall find his way out of this desert place, when to his great joy he sees in the path ahead of him Dame Memory, who had of late gone from him. A long digression is made at this point, in which the Author describes a battle he witnessed between King Henry VIII and Debility, and between Edward VI and Debility. Resuming his journey in company with Memory he reaches the island of Consumption, where dwell the champions—Distrust, Dispaire, Disdaine. He and Memory seek lodgings in a place called Hoped Time. They are provided by one True Zeal with a chamber called Paine. Reason comes to his bed and bids him be not dismayed since

faithful friends, such as Faith, Hope, and Charity, will attend him. Reason, however, can not deliver him from Death, for no living man can hope to escape him. Thanatos appears and the Author yields without any resistance.

The *travailed Pilgreme* contains traces of both Carthyen's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight* and Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*. The arming of the Author recalls the arming of Deguileville's Pilgrim; the Author's fight with Disagreement, the encounter Pilgrim has with Rude Entendement; the attendance of Dame Memory, the attendance of Memory upon Pilgrim; the fight of the Author with Old Age and his surrender to Death, the attack upon Pilgrim of Old Age and the approach of Death; the house of Reason, the house of Grace Dieu.

The traces of Carthyen's allegory are even more apparent. The horse Will is parallel with the horse Temerity; the plain of Worldly Pleasure and the ladies at the Palace of Disordered Livers<sup>1</sup> with the Palace of Worldly Felicity and the ladies whom the Knight there finds; the house of Reason with the school of Repentance or the Palace of Virtue; while Remembrance and Understanding are common to both allegories.

The allegory also shows a few features peculiar to the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The Author after his fight with Disagreement is refreshed "with the Bread of Life and the Cup of health" by one whose name is Understanding. After Christian's fight with Apollyon "there came to him a hand, with some of the leaves of the tree of life, the which Christian took, and applied to the wounds that he had received in the battle, and was healed immediately. He also sat down in that place to eat bread, and to drink of the bottle that was given him a little before; so being refreshed, he addressed himself to his journey."<sup>2</sup> The Author is allowed "to sleep in the bed of Rest," Christian at the Palace Beautiful was put "in a large upper chamber . . . the name of the chamber

<sup>1</sup> So called in the wood-cut representing the Author's arrival at the palace. The title of the 12th chapter of Carthyen's allegory, describing the Knight's stay at the Palace of Worldly Felicity, reads: "The Author declareth how the Wandering Knight and such *voluptuous livers* in this world transgress the ten commandments."

<sup>2</sup> *Offor*, III, 114.



was Peace." The "obscure path called Deceit or Guile" finds a counterpart in Bunyan's "By-path Meadow." Such personifications as Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the more unusual name—Pick-thank—are common to both.

*Mundorum Explicatio, or The Explanation of an Hieroglyphical Figure*: wherein are couched the mysteries of the External, Internal, and Eternal Worlds, showing the true progress of a Soul from the Court of Babylon to the City of Jerusalem; from the Adamical fallen state to the Regenerate and Angelical. Being a Sacred Poem, written by S. P. Armig., London, 1661. [Re-issued in 1663.]

The authorship of this poem is usually assigned to Samuel Pordage, whom Dryden in the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel* described as, "Lame Mephibosheth, the wizard's son." The *Dic. Nat. Biog.* (XLVI, 151), however, is disposed to question Pordage's authorship of the *Mundorum Explicatio*, since "its contents are entirely unlike anything else which he wrote."

The poem is divided into three parts. The first part contains no allegory, being descriptive of the various orders of worlds, of the astral and subterranean spirits, &c. The allegorical pilgrimage begins with p. 125 of Part II.

"That we may shew more plain unto your eyes  
This milky way that leads to Paradise,  
We will suppose (as in the darker sphear  
We did, so now we will exhibit here  
One as) a Pattern, by whose foot-steps ye  
May view the way unto Aeternity."

The Pilgrim, having tried many ways and having found them false, prays to the "Glorious Prince of Light" to send him a guide. In answer to his prayer a heavenly courtier of dazzling beauty is sent. Taking the Pilgrim under the covert of his wing, he brings him to a valley surrounded by high rocks. This, he declares, represents the world, out of which the Pilgrim must find his own way. He himself, though invisible, will be ready to lend assistance.

Left alone Pilgrim falls asleep. He is awakened by an angel with an angry countenance. The name of this angel is Conscience,



and with a goad he pricks Pilgrim until the latter fully aroused from his lethargy cries "What shall I do? Oh! I can't bear this pain!" As he thus runs back and forth, grievously tormented, he sees a little shining light on his right hand and there finds a passage from the valley. His way is blocked by a river, in the midst of which is seen a man clothed in a rough jacket of camel's hair. This man is John the Baptist, who tells him that the only way to the New Jerusalem is through this river. He leaps in and at once feels as if unburdened of a heavy weight.

Two sisters, Faith and Hope, are now sent to act as guides. They bring him to a kind of paradise called God's Free-grace. All his surroundings are so pleasant that Pilgrim again falls asleep. Upon awaking he finds himself alone. He is led by a dame called Misapprehension to the Bower of Deceit where many are chained to the seats of security.<sup>1</sup> Just as he is on the point of sitting down, his tutelar angel appears, and inquires how he had got into this false path and what has become of his guides. Pilgrim confesses his fault, and falling prostrate on the ground begs for pardon. Immediately he espies Grace descending and with her a troop of heavenly nymphs. Grace thus greets him:

"I Queen am of that place of such delight,  
Whose heavenly Beauty recreates the sight  
Of all that enter there, and now I come  
To let you see unto Jerusalem  
The heav'nly, the true Way."

Calling the nymph Apocalypsis to bring the scroll in which may be seen the city of Jerusalem, Grace rubs Pilgrim's eyes with the salve of Purity and bids him look. No pen could tell its wonderful beauties. By veiling its brightness Grace permits him to catch a glimpse of the way thither. This way, he perceives, lies over rocks, through valleys, by dark caves, precipices, steep and stony places. Strong watchmen keep the passages; a thousand dangers show themselves along the way. Pilgrim is led by Grace back to the path from which he had wandered, and here he finds

<sup>1</sup> Those who sit in the "Seats of Security" have been told by False-persuasion that regeneration is complete and that "they could not fall from Grace."

Faith and Hope. Three additional guides are chosen by Grace,—Aletheia, Vigilantia, and Humility.

Proceeding on his journey, Pilgrim comes to a narrow gate—the Gate of Circumcision. The World, the Flesh, and the Devil strive to keep him from entering. These being beaten back, Satan attempts to make his *will* revolt. The Senses, the Passions, and the Flesh, all unite against him. In agony of soul he cries for help. Grace straightway appears, and at once his enemies flee. He is attacked by Lust, but rescued by Chastity. Then he is met by Wrath, wearing a helmet of Insolence, and a belt of Arrogance from which hung Ambition.

“On his lofty crest he wore  
A scaly Dragon, on his breast he bore  
A Tun of Iron : the neighbouring Rocks he down  
Kickt, that he might to walk have elbow-room.  
He opes his mouth the Postern Gate of Hell  
And these words bellows with a rending yell.  
Where goes this Dwarf? did'st never hear of me?  
My name is *Wrath*, my left hand *Cruelty* ;  
My right is *Power*, to which all *Hell* below  
Obeys : with which these Rocks like Balls I throw.  
And what art thou? Poor Pigmee ! if I list,  
To atoms I can crush thee with my fist.  
Dost thou know what thou dost? We did this Way  
Prohibit men : how darst thou disobey?”

Upon hearing these words, Pilgrim thinks himself as good as dead. He is saved by the intervention of Meekness. His next encounter is with an old hag, Envy, who did fly with the scaly wings of Dragons—Detraction and Jealousy. From her he is delivered by Charity. Other allegorical characters are introduced such as Zeal, Prudence, Sophia. The last is given him for a spouse. At length he meets Death, by whom he is willing to be slain.

The *Mundorum Explicatio* contains several features found in Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*. These are :

- (1). The river of baptism.
- (2). The meeting with Grace, who gives Pilgrim much assistance on his journey.

(3). The encounter with Wrath, from whom he is delivered by Meekness.<sup>1</sup>

(4). The encounter with Lust. Cf. the encounter of Deguileville's Pilgrim with the hag Venus.

(5). The Meeting with the old hag Envy, who did fly with the scaly wings of *Dragons—Detraction* and *Jealousy*. In Deguileville's *Pilgrimage* the old hag *Envy* is described as creeping on the ground like a *dragon* on all fours, with the two hags *Treason* and *Detraction* riding upon her back.

(6). The encounter with Death.

In the *Pilgrim's Progress* the nearest parallel to Pilgrim's encounter with Wrath is Christian's encounter with Apollyon. The wandering of the Pilgrim from the right way and his allowing himself to be led by Dame Misapprehension to the Bower of Deceit, recalls By-path Meadow and Giant Despair. The falling asleep of the Pilgrim and the loss of his guides suggest the falling asleep of Christian in the arbor and the loss of his roll. The Pilgrim's guides are Faith and Hope; Christian's companions are Faithful and Hopeful, the latter joining him after the death of Faithful. The vision which Grace gives the Pilgrim of the heavenly Jerusalem finds a counterpart in both Bunyan's and Deguileville's allegories.

*The Travels of True Godliness*, from the beginning of the World to this Present Day, in an apt and pleasant Allegory. Shewing the Troubles, Oppositions, Reproaches, and Persecutions he hath met with in every Age. The fifth edition, London, 1684. Printed for John Dunton.

*The Progress of Sin, or The Travels of Ungodliness*, by the Author of *The Travels of True Godliness*. London, 1684. Printed for John Dunton.

These two books, printed by the eccentric John Dunton, were the work of Benjamin Keach. They were written, it seems, after Bunyan's *Holy War*, to which they show some resemblance.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> In the first recension of the *Pilgrimage of Man* Wrath is pictured as an old hag, but in the second recension as a man, just as in this poem.

<sup>2</sup> See Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, London, 1740, iv, 310-311.

chief source of Keach's inspiration, however, is undoubtedly Bernard's *Isle of Man*.

In the first allegory, True Godliness, having received a commission to travel, comes to a certain town on the confines of Babylon where dwelt a man named Riches. The servants of Riches—Presumption, Pride, Unbelief, Ignorance, Malice, Vain-Hope, and Covetousness—hate True Godliness, and offer him but scanty entertainment. He next goes to the house of Poverty, but receives much the same welcome. Poverty had for his companions Unbelief, Ignorance, Sloth alias Idleness, Wastful, Lightfingers, &c. Finally True Godliness comes to the house of Thoughtful, who had embraced Consideration. Thoughtful would gladly have received him, but is hindered, for a time at least, by Old Man, Wilful Will, Carnal Affections, and Apollyon.<sup>1</sup>

The second allegory, as the title indicates, is a kind of companion-piece to the first. The last chapter describes the apprehension, arraignment, trial, condemnation, and execution of Sin. The first place in which search is made is Youth-shire. But instead of Luxury and Lasciviousness only Gaieties and pleasant Pastimes are found. In the town of Riches Covetousness is discovered hid under the cloak of Thriftiness and Good Husbandry. The house of Mrs. Gay Clothes is searched for Pride. In Mt. Sion search is made, and in the house of Formality Sin is found under the name of Hypocrisy hid beneath the cloak of Religion and seeming Godliness. Sin is immediately brought to trial. The judge is Sir Sacred Scripture. He is attended by Sir Sublime Matter, Sir Antiquity, Sir Majestical Authoritativeness of the Spirit, Sir Infinite Holiness, Sir Sweet Harmony. The sheriff is Divine Wisdom, the king's attorney-general Divine Justice, the solicitor general Divine Mercy, other council for the king Mr. Christianity and Mr. Primitive Purity. Those composing the jury are Sound Judgment, Divine Reason, Enlightened Understanding, Godly Fear, Holy Revenge, Spiritual Indignation, Vehement Desire, Fiery Zeal for the Town of Knowledge, Right Faith, True Love, Sincerity, Impartiality. The principal witnesses are Adam, late of Paradise,

<sup>1</sup> Dunton declares in his *Life and Errors* that he printed 10,000 copies of this book.



Mr. Body of Manshire, Mr. Decalogue of Mt. Sinai, Mr. Ancient and Mr. Modern Records. Mr. Conscience testifies that Sin hath erected his throne in the house of one Mrs. Heart and there "foments, hatches, and contrives" all manner of heinous crimes. Sin is condemned to die without mercy.

*The Pilgrim's Guide from the Cradle to his Death-bed*; with his Glorious Passage from thence to the New Jerusalem. Represented to the Life in a Delightful new Allegory, wherein the Christian Traveller is more fully and plainly Directed than yet he hath been by any in the Right and nearest way to the Celestial Paradise, by John Dunton.<sup>1</sup>

*An Hue and Cry after Conscience*; or, *The Pilgrim's Progress* by Candle-light, in search after Honesty and Plain-Dealing. Represented under the similitude of a Dream. Written by John Dunton, Author of the *Pilgrim's Guide from the Cradle to his Death-bed*, London, 1685.

Notwithstanding Dunton's declaration that he "never printed another's Copy, went upon his Project, nor stole so much as his Title-page, or his Thought,"<sup>2</sup> the *Pilgrim's Guide from the Cradle to his Death-bed* is a shameful plagiarizing from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.<sup>3</sup> Evangelist has been changed to Theologus, the Slough of Despond to the Ditch or Moat of Despair, the Palace Beautiful to the Palace Delightful, Giant Despair to Disbelief. The book also contains traces of *The Penitent Pilgrim*, Bernard's *Isle of Man*, and Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man*.

The second allegory, *An Hue and Cry after Conscience*, has no plot, being simply a description of the vices and villainy of the times. It is mentioned by Dunton in his *Life and Errors* as one of the books which he regretted having written.

*The Conviction of Worldly-Vanity*; or, *The Wandering Prodigal and his Return*. London, 1687. [The "Address to the Reader" is signed "J. S."]

<sup>1</sup> Ofor (III, 40) cites the third edition dated 1684.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life and Errors of John Dunton*, ed. by J. B. Nichols, London, 1818, I, 62.

<sup>3</sup> Strangely enough, Ofor (III, 40) declares that it "is an allegory altogether different to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*."



This is nothing more than a reprint of Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight* under a new title. Like the two allegories of John Dunton just described, it is later than either the *Pilgrim's Progress* or the *Holy War*. The chief interest for us in these books is the testimony they give of the popularity of such works as the *Isle of Man*, the *Pilgrimage of Man*, and the *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*.

*Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim: A Divine Dialogue. Shewing the most compendious Way to arrive at the Love of God. Render'd into English and explained with notes by Laurence Howel, London, 1717.*

The allegory "was written originally in Spanish, but the Time uncertain. Afterwards it was translated into Italian, French, High-Dutch, and Low-Dutch; and about the Year 1587 the learned Canonist F. Laurentius Surius, from the High-Dutch Version turn'd it into Latin. After him Arnoldus Vander Meer, a learned Licentiate of the Law, besides consulting the French and Dutch copies, compar'd it with the Original, and translated it into Latin. The last was Antonius Bœtzer, who in the Year 1617 from all the other Copies publish'd a correct Edition of it in Latin at Collein" (Preface, pp. iii-iv). Nor is this the first time the book has appeared in English, declares the translator. "I am assur'd," he continues, "that Mr. Royston, the Bookseller (some Years dead) very well knew that Dr. Patrick took his Pilgrim from it, and that several Authors, whom I could name, have form'd noble Designs from hence."

Desiderius, the hero of the story, grows sick of earthly enjoyments and longs for something more sublime. He falls asleep, and in a dream there appears to him a virgin of angelic beauty, who directs him to a noble knight, Love of God. In his search for the knight, he meets an old shepherd who gives him his boy, Good-will, to conduct him to the house of Humility. He is admitted by the porter, Fear of God, and afterwards instructed by Humility. A virgin named Disregard conducts him through the several apartments of the house, which are presided over by Confession, Simplicity, Poverty, Obedience, and Chastity. Leav-

ing the house of Humility Desiderius comes to a pleasant meadow in which stood the Royal Palace of Charity, the chief residence of the Love of God. The rest of the book consists of instructions received from Desire of God and Love of God.

Like the *Parable of the Pilgrim*, this book contains but few incidents. It is impossible to determine whether Patrick was familiar with it or not. In a general way it resembles the various allegorical pilgrimages that we have studied, and so may be regarded as further evidence of the familiarity of the idea underlying them all.

*Summary.*

The books contained in this list belong to the category of allegorical pilgrimages, although they do not all treat precisely the same idea. A few represent under the symbolism of a pilgrimage the search for knowledge or truth. In most of them, however, the pilgrimage portrayed is the pilgrimage of the Christian life. In other words they are allegories based upon the same idea as the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The influence of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man* appears in Batman's *The travayled pylgrene*, Pordage's *Mundorum Explicatio*, Dunton's *The Pilgrim's Guide*, and, with less certainty, in Stephen Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*. *The travayled pylgrene* is also very similar to Cartheny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*, a book as we have seen strongly resembling Deguileville's allegory, while *The Conviction of Worldly-Vanity* published in 1687 is simply a reprint of Cartheny's *Voyage*. Benjamin Keach's *Progress of Sin*, which was published only a short time after the *Holy War*, was undoubtedly inspired by Bernard's *Isle of Man*, traces of which also appear in *The Pilgrim's Guide* of John Dunton.

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## CONCLUSION.

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The results of our study may be summarized as follows :

1. Bunyan was among the last of a long line of authors to treat the course of man's spiritual life under the symbolism of a journey to Jerusalem.

2. The idea of an allegorical pilgrimage, hinted at in the Bible, is distinctly expressed in several books otherwise not allegorical. It was even treated in a sustained allegory prior to Deguileville, but its wide popularity during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries must be attributed to his influence. Several allegories belonging to this period reveal distinct traces of that influence.

3. The *Pilgrim's Progress* contains resemblances, not only to the *Pilgrimage of Man*, but to these later allegories as well. These resemblances, however, are too general to justify the selection of any particular allegory as the prototype of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

4. The most reasonable supposition seems to be that the idea of an allegorical pilgrimage had become common-property and the treatment of it conventional by the middle of the seventeenth century, and that Bunyan knowing that others had treated the same theme determined to try his hand at a similar allegory. In doing so, he adopted the framework which had been handed down to him from Deguileville through other allegorists, relying for the details of his allegory, however, not upon the works of his predecessors, but upon his own invention.

5. One allegory alone stands as an exception to the foregoing statement—Bernard's *Isle of Man*. It is highly probable that Bunyan was familiar with this little book, and that he was induced by it to write his second great allegory, the *Holy War*.

## LIFE.

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I was born in Cumberland County, Virginia, March 4, 1872. A few years later my parents removed to North Carolina. My early training was received at private schools. In 1888 I entered Davidson College (N. C.), from which institution I received the degree of A. B. in 1892. The following year I taught in the Cape Fear Academy, Wilmington, N. C. From 1893-'96 I was instructor in Latin and Greek at Davidson. In the meantime I pursued courses of study in English literature under Professor Currell, now of Washington and Lee University, and in 1895 was awarded the degree of A. M. From 1896-'99 I was a student of the Johns Hopkins University. In the fall of 1899 I accepted the professorship of English in the Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn., which position I still hold.

My advanced work has been under Professors Bright, Browne, Wood, Vos, Armstrong, and Ogden. To all these I feel greatly indebted, and I take this opportunity to express to them my appreciation and gratitude. Especially do I wish to thank Professor Bright. His high ideals of faithful, scholarly work have been an unfailing source of inspiration, while his sympathy and help have been as generously extended as they have been gratefully received.











